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BALZAC.

IN the long gallery of the Louvre there is, as everybody knows, a series of twenty-one pictures representing scenes in the life of Marie de Médicis, huge canvases painted within the space of two years by Peter Paul Rubens. After making all due allowance for the part taken by the pupils of the master, this series is still an astonishing evidence of his qualities as well as of his defects. What a pell-mell of redundant forms and splendid colors, of warriors and courtiers in armor and brocades, with gods and goddesses in the costume of Olympus, of weapons and architecture and clouds and draperies, the whole teeming with life and motion, so exuberant, so over-full, that the brain of the observer begins to swim in the midst of his admiration. He will be long perhaps in making up his mind as to what are the proportions of praise and blame to be meted out to this wonderful series, but none the less, if he have something of artistic discernment in him, he will see that it shadows forth the entire Rubens, the man as well as his work. He can divine the painter who was equally great in all branches of his art—allegories, history, landscape, *genre*, flowers, martyrdoms, beasts—who was capable of painting in sixteen days the Assumption of the Virgin over the high altar of the Antwerp Cathedral, who loved splendor and good living, who was happy and prosperous, who “amused himself at times with being ambassador,” and then returned to his studio and “*Soulageait sa fécondité en créant des mondes.*” *

* Taine : *Philosophie de l'Art dans les Pays Bas*, p. 139.

And not only is this series of pictures a revelation of the life, the mind, and nature of the painter, it is a sort of magic mirror reflecting the images of a whole family of intelligences, of all the generous and prolific geniuses distinguished rather for force than for delicacy, with whom invention is like a flood bearing on its surface things great and small, precious and ignoble. Gazing into the mirror one may see a procession of such coming from all walks of life, among them Michel Angelo, Peter the Great, Mirabeau, so dissimilar among themselves, in spite of points of resemblance, that one perceives that the glass, like nearly all analogies, performs its office with a certain liberty of distortion. One is therefore less surprised at recognizing among the number, stumbling in the impetuosity of his haste, a short, thick figure, with a bull neck and sensuous lips, but with a bold, clear, and kindly eye,—the subject of this study. Let us look at him a little more nearly with a view of learning what sort of man he was, and to what extent his presence in this procession is justified.

I.

The energy, the tireless activity, the teeming invention of the man were something worthy of wonder. For long periods together he worked from twelve to eighteen hours a day, chiefly at night, scarcely eating, and kept up by copious draughts of black coffee. It was a sort of fury of work, resulting in almost incredible production. For example, in 1830 he published *La Vendetta, Une Double Famille, Etude de Femme, Gobseck, Autre Etude de Femme, La Grande Bretèche, Adieu, l'Elixir de Longue Vie, Sarrasine, La Peau de Chagrin*; * in addition to writing other works which were finished later, or perhaps never appeared, as well as articles for the newspapers, besides the labor of correcting proof, which he repeated often as many as twelve times, so loading the margins with alterations that, on occasion, the work was thus nearly entirely rewritten. *Sarrasine* was completed within a week. They tell of Beckford that he did *Vathek* at a sitting. It was a feat that he never repeated, while Balzac performed similar ones over and over again during his whole literary life. Nor is this all: these works were repeatedly refashioned for succeeding editions. Divided, combined with other inventions—two or more tales were, on occasion, melted down into one—republished under new titles,

* *Vie de Balzac* by his sister Madame Surville. The detailed list in De Lovenjoul's *Histoire des Œuvres de Balzac* varies slightly from this, but is even more astonishing.

the labor of former years was forever returning to swell that of the present.*

And yet even this did not exhaust the activity of Balzac. He dreamed of political life, and attempted more than once to enter the Chamber of Deputies. He founded at least two reviews, and, in the case of one of them, wrote nearly everything it contained during the three months of its existence; he engaged in type-founding, in printing, in paper-making, in publishing (Madame Surville says he was the first to issue the compact editions that have since enriched so many publishers); he tried to work the *scoria* left by the ancient Romans about the silver mines of Sardinia; he defended a criminal before the courts of justice, and, not content with being lawyer, miner, manufacturer, printer, publisher, and politician, his head was forever full of the most magnificent schemes for making fortunes, as busy with the ordinary world of industry and commerce as he was with that other world where he was supreme, a world where there was room enough and to spare for him, or for any intelligence short of the highest.

For, think of it! The world of the *Comédie Humaine* embraces upwards of two thousand persons, who were for the greater part as real to their creator as were his mother and sister, his friends Gozlan and Laurent, Jan, or his wife. Every one remembers the story of Jules Sandeau, how he came one day to Balzac full of the illness of his sister, and how Balzac, after seeming to listen for a time, finally broke in, "But to come back to real things—who is going to marry Eugénie Grandet?" Or how he used to entertain the family circle with news of what was going on in his own particular world—"Have you heard whom Felix de Vandenesse is about to marry? A *demoiselle* de Granville. He is making an excellent match; the Granvilles are rich, in spite of what Mademoiselle de Bellefeuille has cost the family." Or how, when his sister begged to know somewhat better the past life of a character of whom too little was told, he replied, "I did not know Monsieur de Jordy until he came to Nemours." But after that time he lived with this same M. de Jordy in the closest intimacy up to his death in 1823.

It was indeed a world apart by itself, where the people grew up, developed in character, loved, married, enjoyed, suffered and died, just as in that other where the rest of us live. Balzac's spirit,

* *E. g.*, the novel published in the ordinary cheap edition as *Un Ménage de Garçon*, is included in the definitive edition as *La Rabouilleuse*, the title under which it appeared at first in 1842.

which inhabited chiefly in Paris, where it had relations with every class of society, used once in a while to take a journey to Douai, or Saumur, or Tours, or Issoudun, or Angoulême, to keep abreast of what was doing in those cities. It was familiar with the whole of France, though it went outside only by way of exception, as when it visited Tarragona and brought back to Paris Madame Diard, or to that Spanish island in the Mediterranean in pursuit of the Duchesse de Langeais, whom it had formerly much admired. But in French provincial towns it was so at home that it could give you the photograph of every street and every house, and when it led you indoors could take you through every room from cellar to garret, calling your attention to each article of furniture, being able even to tell you their cost, if worth while. As for the inhabitants, it counted their very wrinkles, noted the least of their daily habits, actions, or sentiments, and made their business and their interests its own. So thoroughly was this done that, as M. Taine has already said, one almost needs to be a merchant to understand *César Birotteau*, or a magistrate to follow *Une Ténébreuse Affaire*.^{*} Just so Balzac was banker with Nucingen and physician with Bianchow, or he became botanist in following the windings of the Indre, student of philosophy with Louis Lambert, inventor for David Séchard, herald for all the noble families of his acquaintance to such an extent that, as we hear, a work is in preparation which shall publish the armorial bearings of all the nobility in the "Balzacien" society.[†] Never since novels were written, has an imaginary world been created so populous, so varied, so knit together, so studied, and so described, outside and in, with all possible causes, bearings, and consequences, as this of the *Comédie Humaine*.

Is it not plain that this genius, so many-sided, so strong, so fruitful, is of the intellectual race of him who painted the Descent from the Cross? And not alone in abundance of production may the relationship be seen, but in the largeness with which each individual work is conceived, in the breadth and force of touch, in a common love for splendors, and, in so far as literary and pictorial art may be described in the same terms, in a certain fulness and exaggeration of forms, a tumult of movement, a daring and richness of coloring. The treatment of these qualities, however, as far as Balzac is concerned, belongs to a later part of this essay.

^{*} *Nouveaux Essais de Critique et d'Histoire*, p. 87.

[†] Monsieur de Lovenjoul. See *Corfbon et Christophe*, p. 470.

Nevertheless, it would be unfair not to note that in this case also such differences may be found as always exist between the present representative of a family and the ancestor of three centuries ago whose portrait he seems to make live again. Perhaps some of the effect is due to distance, but Rubens has the air of having done everything easily in obedience to the first strong impulse, to have accomplished his greatest works just as he *played at being ambassador*, to have been always fortunate and prosperous, to have taken his greatness by storm, *facile princeps*. Fame was no such holiday comrade for Balzac. She came to him, it is true, at a sufficiently early moment in his career, and remained by him faithful though full of caprices. But she would not allow herself to be taken seriously; she not only did not secure crosses and embassies for her stepson, but she did not second him enough to gain for him even the dignity of deputy, and she did not bring with her *fortune*. Money? Yes, and a good deal of it, but never enough to command ease and serenity. The story of Balzac's life is, in fact, a painful one of struggle and disappointment, so obstinate on both sides that the poor great man broke down finally just at the moment when fortune seemed to have relented. For him she was all along a malicious jade; she gave him a brain teeming with resources, and energy to put them one after another into execution, but she managed to spoil everything. Some of his inventions have since brought wealth to people who never knew him; but to Balzac they brought only that load of debt under which he labored all his life and which was the primal cause of his untimely death.* He worked on like a giant, refusing to despair, and his fertile brain continually suggested to him new expedients for compelling fortune; but one and all they ended in sinking him deeper and deeper in embarrassments.

Look but a moment at the young men whom Balzac sent up to Paris with but slender equipment of either money or scruples, and with only so much brains as their creator chose to endow them with—his Rastignac, his Nucingen, his du Tillet—and compare the facility with which they achieved riches and honors with his own painful and scantily rewarded struggles with the world. But think twice before you sneer at his failures, or even before humiliating him with your pity. Fortune had her compensations even for him—chief of all in that she made him share the existence of his creations. So when she seemed to be paying his efforts in *monnaie de singe*, she left him

* He died August 18, 1850, aged fifty-one.

his secret for transforming this into gold, inappreciable to others but good in its way. For instance, he conceived the idea of a drama,* and immediately, according to his wont, began to compute the profits before even putting pen to paper. "With *Frédéric Lemaitre* there must be at least a hundred and fifty representations at, taking one with another, five thousand francs apiece—that makes seven hundred and fifty thousand francs—seven hundred and fifty thousand francs gives the author, at the usual rate of twelve per cent., more than eighty thousand francs. Then there are five or six thousand francs of tickets, and ten thousand copies of the play at three francs each. . . ." You see the computation is agreeable enough, only the drama was either never written or else failed. Failure was a rude blow, but there was a way to bear even that. After the suppression of *Vautrin*, Gozlan went to condole with the author at *Les Jardies*, and found him occupied in parcelling out strips of land on the confines of his property, one for a model dairy, another for a market-garden, a third for a vineyard (the wine of which was to command three thousand francs the cask), etc.,—with an assured return altogether of twenty thousand francs a year! No doubt pain was here the stimulus of his ingenuity, but his imagination had of itself sought the true anodyne.

Happily for Balzac, the courage, the energy, the faith in illusions lasted unassailed even while their employment was fast using up his strength. His broad shoulders bent, his heart broke, once for all, just as fortune had at last relented from her rigors with regard to things material, and, as if by a sort of delicacy toward one whom she had treated too hardly, had not taken away the gifts that had consoled him in earlier days. If then he was of kin to Rubens in point of force, of fertility and variety of genius, he was not that either in respect of the fortune that waited on his efforts, nor, indeed, in ease, serenity, or facility. Few things that he wrote give an impression of power exercised with pleasure. In most of them there is a mass of erudition filling half the volume, which the reader is apt to skip, and which for the writer was often as difficult to manage as the baggage and provision train of an army in a wild country. The story gets painfully under way, and even when the action is at white-heat it preserves the movement of a heavy body. Then, as we know, he was never contented, and worked over and over again what he had written, and after that was the terror of printers with his proof-read-

* Gozlan: *Balzac en Pantoufles*.

ing. Moreover, his relations with the world of literature were not altogether pleasant. He was at war with the newspapers and with several reviews, partly because he told disagreeable truths about journalism, partly because his punctiliousness about what was due to him led him into various lawsuits. Looked at from this side, one must own that, if he was of the Rubens order, he wore its garb with the seamy side out.

As for the literary vanity, that first "infirmity of noble minds," which the enemies of Balzac thought excessive in him, his friends found it easy enough to forgive because of its extreme, its childlike, frankness, because it was merely part and parcel of the intensity and exaggeration of his every sentiment, because it was, at least to them, open to correction, and, finally, because he was essentially kind and "*bon enfant*."

That Balzac was sordidly devoted to gain, as Mr. Henry James in a charming and generally appreciative essay gives one to believe, there is at least reason to doubt. He was exacting of his publishers, his correspondence is full of talk about money, but one should remember that the great, forever unsatisfied labor of his life was to shake off the load of debt that oppressed him. This fact alone may account for his admiration for those who were above such cares, as well as for the avidity he showed in his own affairs.

It is to be regretted that no adequate biography of Balzac has as yet been given to the public. The long list of books and articles relative to Balzac given by Monsieur de Lovenjoul* (about ninety books and over one hundred articles) gives one little else but gossip. Though one may extract from the whole a sufficient and just idea of the great novelist, it is yet at the cost of a labor that one would be glad to avoid.

II.

Balzac was one of the writers who would seem to have been created expressly to furnish support to such a theory as Taine's of the influence of circumstances in determining the bent of genius. Indeed, by the aid of a little arrangement of facts, with an occasional suppression, the great critic has already made him serve as an illustration of the value of the French *milieu* toward producing a greater novelist than the English Thackeray.† We prefer to keep

*De Lovenjoul, *Histoire des Œuvres de Balzac*.

† *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire* and the last volume of *English Literature*. The above remark does not apply to the able article devoted to Balzac in the *Nouveaux Essais*.

to the easier and safer task of showing how Balzac's self was reproduced in his work. Here he who runs may read. Even to the squat, stout figure with the eager gait, which seems the image of his style, the man may always be descried between the lines of his books. His style, at its best, has about it a sort of plain straightforwardness that we once heard characterized as "square-toed"; while, at its worst, it has a vulgar emphasis, heavy, heated, overloaded, as if its author in perspiration, with a pack upon his shoulders, were jostling his way through a crowd. Of course a bit of observation of the utmost delicacy may be embodied in his worst manner; it often is. In fact the style, like the matter it contains, is marked by contradictions. One can never foresee when a page of the simplest narration will be interrupted by a rigmarole of philosophy, or science, or mysticism clothed in all the splendor of tinsel and fustian. A much smaller man would easily avoid such offences against taste. But Balzac was encyclopædic, and had pretensions to omniscience, and he poured forth the torrent of things great and small at such a headlong rate that it could not always be clear. His style was never better, simpler, more nervous and forcible, than in the literary criticisms of the *Revue Parisienne*, as, for instance, in the savage assault on Ste. Beuve, apropos of Port Royal, which Ste. Beuve never really forgave, and which, very likely, was the origin of the malignant foot-note, spoken of by Mr. James, where the great critic said that Balzac was the "grossest, greediest example of literary vanity that he had ever known." The revenge is pardonable, considering the offence. The justice that one administers to a man who has outraged every sensibility, is never quite the same thing as that meted out to friends.

And it is not alone the style that suffers from a plethora of ideas and erudition—the conduct of the stories is equally embarrassed. Balzac not only knows the surroundings, the setting of his personages to the minutest detail, but he cannot make them act until he has told it all. The town, the street, the house and its furniture must all be described before we are introduced to the inhabitants; then they come with their clothes, their habits, their features, even to the accidents of conformation, their interests, their belongings, their society. Sometimes more than half the story is taken up with details that other writers would, at the utmost, have dismissed in a few pages. Nor is this all: the narrative is continually stopped for digressions on every conceivable subject—art, science, agriculture,

government, the police, finance, manufactures, clairvoyance, journalism—on all of which, as well as on everything else, he thinks he has something worth saying. Sometimes, as, for example, in *La Maison Nucingen*, the digression is nearly the whole book, and in general it is only after nothing remains to be described that the author begins to warm with the passions and actions of his people.

And then, when once the stage is cleared for the play, what people they are! How full their veins are of blood, how palpable their flesh, how they live and move before you! We doubt if in the whole range of fiction there is another world so full of real, breathing existences. Taine was right; after Shakespeare and St. Simon, Balzac is our greatest magazine of documents on human nature. Where can we look for such another? Dickens has perhaps as many figures, and they come before you and grimace and play their antics in a very lively manner; but with very few exceptions they are only fragments of people, mostly mere physiognomies and oddities, not whole people, and the most genuinely alive among them are the fantastic caricatures like Quilp, that your reason rejects even while your imagination accepts. Dickens' figures are so strong in effect, simply because to him too they were hallucinations; but he was haunted by the maimed, the halt, and the blind, while Balzac's familiars were sound and whole in mind and limb. They are like the companions of our daily walks; we know them as completely and from as many sides, and, whether we like them or not, we are forced to own them as of our own flesh and blood.

It has been often said that the excessive minuteness of Balzac's descriptions defeats the end of description, confusing the reader in the multitude of details. M. Taine says, for instance, that there are so many mullions and transoms to the Hôtel du Guénie at Guérande* that one cannot see the house. We venture to believe that such description produces its effect in another way: whence its minuteness and exactitude, if not borrowed from nature? It is impossible to avoid the conviction that, if a writer gives the utmost characteristic of a person or thing, it must be because he is familiar with the original; the too great intimacy evinced is, while it confuses us, just one reason the more for accepting his testimony as final. And Balzac is not only a close observer of what he sees, but he is strongly impressed by it; that also is a guarantee of his truthfulness. If he sees too much, it is because he has felt too keenly. The wife of

* *Béatrix*.

Balthazar Claës* sits in her parlor and hears the approach of her husband's footsteps, whch "it was impossible to listen to with indifference." Why so? Simply because she felt deeply, and Balzac with her, that Balthazar was walking the way of ruin. When he enters the room, Balzac notes that "his eyes, of a rich, clear blue, were marked by sudden, quick movements like those of the great seekers of occult causes." Now the utmost that we should have noticed would have been that the eyes were restless; we never should have dreamed of drawing such an inference from their motion. Nor would Balzac, had he been less troubled about the fatal mania that bewitched Balthazar, and seemed to his observer to impress itself on all his surroundings. So he remarks that Lucien de Rubempré† had broad hips, "like most men who are sharp, not to say, crafty." The reader may smile incredulously at the generalization of the trait, but at the same time he has gained in conviction as to the reality of Lucien. It is in a similar manner that the most intricate description of Balzac, whether it makes you see the object described or not, ends in convincing you that the author is telling the truth: nothing but reality could have been so exactly observed or so strongly felt.

It would be too much to claim that every personage in the *Comédie Humaine* impresses one as being a living existence. Balzac, like Dickens, was not nearly as successful in portraying fine gentlemen and ladies as he was with mortals of coarser clay, but, unlike Dickens, he did not recognize the limits of his power. Indeed he seems to have found a particular pleasure in painting the leaders of society. Many readers, witnessing the author's abject adoration of these brilliant creatures of his imagination, together with the lapses of taste of which they are too frequently guilty, have hastily concluded that he could not have had opportunities of modelling them from proper originals. The reader of Balzac's correspondence, however, knows that such was not the case, but that he was at least as well placed for studying a Madame de Beauséant as for drawing Vautrin. We learn, too, that on occasion his descriptions of fine ladies were revised and approved, before being made public, by real women of the world. We may allow, further, that undoubted ladies and gentlemen often do things that jar sadly with our ideals of the conduct to be expected from such people. We may also grant that much, perhaps all, of the author's admiration of his great people is not so much the

* *Recherche de l'Absolu.*

† *Illusions perdues*: "Les deux Poètes."

snobbery that the Anglo-Saxon, with the keen scent of his race for this foible, is apt to take it for, as it is another instance of the author's intensity of vision—he cannot help making his princesses and dandies as transcendent in their way as his criminals or sharpers are in theirs. In such case his adoration is only a proof that he believes as firmly in the existence of the one as of the other set of beings. And yet, one may grant all this and still feel that the Duchesse de Maufrigneuse or Henri de Marsay have not the force of vitality in them that impresses one in Valérie Marneffe or Philippe Bridan.

In fact the genius of Balzac was full of singular contradictions. One is continually surprised that such a giant in force should display on occasion such weakness, that the most exquisite delicacy should at times go hand in hand with grossness or plump tastelessness, that the writer who in description seems guided by an insight, almost unerring, into human nature, should in conversations continually be making people to say things that they either never could or never would have said. Here we touch upon one of the greatest (perhaps the greatest) defects of his novels. No one has ever equalled Balzac in description—as long as he is occupied in that he is nearly impeccable; but as soon as his personages begin to talk at length, or write letters, they become so many miniature Balzacs. If they are people of any pretensions to education or cleverness, they repeat even the peculiar vocabulary of their great father; you recognize at once the *car*, the *aussi*, the *n'est il pas*, with the favorite adjectives, and they have all the uncertainties of his taste. That is why his young girls are such conspicuous failures—they do all this and worse. They talk about themselves as knowingly as Balzac himself, who had all sorts of forbidden knowledge at his fingers' ends, and who was steeped through and through with sensualism, materialism, and cynicism, could have done. When Mademoiselle de Chaulieu was waiting so impatiently to be “*déniaisée*,” she was already capable of writing in a manner that might have scandalized the most hardened duchess of her world. There is scarcely a girl in the *Comédie Humaine*, though some of them are otherwise charming figures, who does not at least once in a while let fall some expression utterly discordant with her character. Even Eugénie Grandet is not exempt from this reproach.

As far as the mere language of these people is concerned, Balzac might easily have rendered it more truthful had he wished. The admirable *Contes Drolatiques* are there to prove that he could, if he

thought it worth his while, revive the style of the sixteenth century. The *Journal des Goncourt** calls attention to the fact that all his military men of the Empire reproduce the short phrases, the incisive manner of Napoleon's conversation. The life of the emperor, as recounted by Goguelat,† is a masterpiece of popular narration; one wishes that his ordinary style could have been as good. The talk of his common people is generally true with regard to the ideas expressed, and often,—in spite of the accentuation of their solecisms, which Balzac, as a man whose sense of humor was heavy, could not resist,—as to the mode of expression. If then his fine ladies, his virtuous women and young girls do not talk in character, the fault is not merely a literary one; it lies less in the art of the writer than in the nature of the man.

It is here that the thick-set man with the bull-neck and the sensuous lips comes uppermost again. The strong, coarse, animal nature enabled him to support the tremendous labor of so many years, but on condition of impressing itself upon the work. We must remember that this, comprising about one hundred titles—with the plays and the *Contes Drolatiques*—or forty-five volumes in the ordinary cheap edition, was the production of a little less than twenty years. We must also call to mind that, though other writers may have produced as many volumes in an equal length of time, the quality of these renders the number at least doubly extraordinary. Few of them can be called light reading—still fewer could have been easy writing—the amount of knowledge, of thought, of observation that they represent is almost encyclopædic. You cannot imagine one of them to have been written as George Sand wrote her charming tales, which were simply poured forth as a spring pours its waters; they are built up as is a coral-reef, or as a coral-reef might be that was built by the aid of steam and machinery. The very sentences are closely packed. It is because his genius reposed upon such a solid physical structure that it could accomplish all this; but the physical structure was of the earth, earthy; it had eager material appetites, and these were so strong,—so *mighty* is a more literal expression for it,—that they bent, and warped, and colored, and permeated the genius. The spirit could not create an image of beauty and purity but the flesh must come and mark it with an earth-stain.

Hence it is that the finer characters nearly always reserve for us some disappointment, and hence it is that the greatest successes of

* Vol. I., p. 185.

† *Le Médecin de Campagne*.

Balzac are among people in the middle and lower classes, people occupied with every-day, often sordid, things, or among those who are frankly given over to their passions and vices. His best people here are, like César Birotteau or Madame Bridan, of few ideas and commonplace aspirations, but they are genuinely good. It may even be the secret of the beauty of Marguerite Claës, who does not seem at first to belong to this class, that her energies are so occupied with the hard, practical work of saving the fortune of the family. At any rate, it is these

"Creatures not too bright and good
For human nature's daily food."

that are the most cheering figures in Balzac. There are not too many of them, and the few that there are only too often end their lives in sorrow, for it is a sad world that they live in. Unscrupulous force, cunning, and shamelessness win all the great prizes, while modesty and innocence go to the wall. For the rest, they are sordid, vicious, or imbecile. The struggle for existence, the struggle for power and precedence, stripped of all that makes them slightly, seem the chief characteristics of the world, with the manias, the passions and vices that enslave, and with the malignity that makes society its prey.

How comes it, then, that such a society is not only endurable to the spectator, but even fascinating? It is simply because of the pleasure we all have in regarding the exercise of power,—and the power is here unmistakable,—together with that which we feel in the contemplation of art, art which can make us delight in that which in real life would well-nigh crush us. M. Taine, among the clever definitions he cites of Balzac's work, gives this, that it is the "*Musée Dupuytren in-folio*—," a collection of models of anatomy and of the various diseases to which the human body is subject. But M. Taine recognizes the fact that this is incomplete, although Balzac had all the curiosity of a pathologist with regard to cases of imperfect or morbid development. He treats such cases not only as a man of science, but much more as an artist. "Balzac loves his Valérie," says Taine in contrasting his method with that of Thackeray toward Becky Sharp. And this is true, for, though it is twenty years since we read *La Cousine Bette*, the impression made upon our young imagination remains as fresh as ever. We fear that even to-day our sympathies might not be on the side of the excellent

Madame Hulot. You see the great scapegrace of an artist painted the saints with conviction, but the sinners with love.

III.

Mr. Howells, toward the end of his work on modern Italian poets says, by the way, of Carducci, that he "seems an agnostic flowering of the old romantic stalk." We think we understand Mr. Howells' meaning sufficiently well to appropriate his saying to our own uses, for it was the old romantic stalk that produced the realistic flower of Balzac. Indeed Balzac claimed something very like that for himself. In turning over the pages of the little *Revue Parisienne*,—the review that he carried on pretty much by himself alone through the three months of its existence,—our attention was taken by an article on Stendhal's *Chartreuse de Parme*, which, to our surprise, we found to be preceded by a sort of manifesto of realism. It is not accompanied by a blare of trumpets, like the similar composition of Hugo prefixed to *Cromwell*, and it is all the better for its modesty; without being remarkable either for brilliancy or wisdom, it is saved—in part by its obscurity, in part by its tone—from the blatant absurdity of the Hugonian production. Balzac begins by saying that the literature of his epoch, unlike that of preceding centuries, which had been too much under the influence of some one man or system, belonged to three classes: the literature of imagery, of which Hugo was the most distinguished figure, with Gautier and Ste. Beuve (this last either as a malicious pleasantry or with exclusive reference to his poetry) as followers; the literature of ideas, including among others Alfred de Musset, Mérimée, Léon Gozlan(!), Béranger, and Casimir Delavigne, and, more complete than the other two, because uniting them and aiming at an all-embracing view of things, *the eclectic school*, to which belong Scott, Madame de Staël, Cooper, George Sand, *and to which he gives his personal adhesion*. He finds that the writers of the first class have but little feeling for the comic, and, with the exception of Gautier, know nothing of dialogue. Victor Hugo makes his characters speak too much his own language; instead of becoming one with them, he merely puts himself inside his personages. The works of the second class are marked by naturalness and strict observation. As to the third class he is somewhat vague; still he gives as his reason for adhesion to it: "I do not believe a picture of modern society to be possible by the severe methods of the litera-

ture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The introduction of the dramatic element, of the *tableau*, of description, of dialogue, seems to me indispensable in modern literature." His programme was, as you see, more modest than that of the representatives of what he calls the literature of imagery, but then *his* programme influenced his work.

Curiously enough, he assigns Stendhal to the second class, and considers the *Chartreuse de Parme* as the chef-d'œuvre of the literature of ideas, although in parts it belongs to both the other schools. He little expected that a day would come when he and Stendhal would be considered as the two pioneers in this century of a literature with the most arrogantly exclusive claims. It is strange that he should have admired Stendhal as unreservedly as he did, without perceiving what their geniuses had in common.

Nevertheless, the two were, without any consciousness of what they were doing, laying the foundations of the school of literature that was to succeed them. They raised no standard of revolt, there was no break between them and their fellows in art. Indeed they felt the same influences with the rest, and, as far at least as Balzac is concerned, thought that any peculiarities they might possess were only different manifestations of the new movement in which all were taking part. Balzac once cried, with the generosity and vanity that were both characteristic of him, "There are only three writers in France who really know the French tongue, Hugo, Gautier, and myself." Indeed the most inflated and abominable pages, as to style, that he ever produced—we refer to some of the fine writing in *Le Lys dans la Vallée*—came from the desire to prove himself the peer of Hugo in the handling of language.* It is a long way from the flattery of such imitation to enmity. Nevertheless, Balzac and Stendhal made Flaubert possible, and the revolution dates from Madame Bovary.

Before, however, saying a further word about the successors of Flaubert, we would add that Balzac not only had no quarrel with the romantic school, but that he even belonged to it to an extent which he himself little suspected. He had undergone the same influences with the others, and with them he began his course. For any one who may wish to study the development of Balzac, we would say that there is amusement as well as profit to be had from the perusal of his early bad works. They are so preposterously bad

* Zola. *Romanciers Naturalistes*, p. 47.

that one doubts involuntarily whether the author be not playing a practical joke at the expense of the reader, especially as the animal spirits in them are evidently high, and their connection with anything like probability is so slight as to be imperceptible. *Jean Louis*, published in 1822, reads in places like an anticipative burlesque of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*, while there are passages in *La Dernière Fée*, published in the following year, that might be taken for a travesty of the author's later self—*as*, for instance, where he says, in describing an alchemist's laboratory, that the walls, if scraped, would have yielded thirty quintals of soot! In reality he was doing the best he could (although he knew himself that his best was bad), driven by poverty and ambition; and the excesses of both sorts were fore-shadowings of something in the better work of after years, less the exuberant spirits and all suspicion of a joke. To give but a single example—if *Jean Louis* savors of romanticism, what shall one say of *Vautrin*? Are his adventures a whit less incredible than anything in the *Comte de Monte Cristo*, or the *Trois Mousquetaires*? It is only that we are imposed upon by Balzac's matter-of-fact manner, and even that fails on occasion, as when *Vautrin* favors either Rastignac or Lucien de Rubempré with pages of cynical wisdom that are clearly of "Balzacien" manufacture. No, the entire story of *Vautrin*, whether in the *Père Goriot*, in the *Illusions Perdues*, or in the drama, is only saved by an occasional stroke of profound insight into human nature, a bit of keen observation, or the air of verisimilitude obtained by the author's mode of treatment, from being as arrant a fable as anything in Dumas or Hugo. This instance might be multiplied, if it were necessary, to prove that Balzac was of his time, and affected by the literary atmosphere he breathed. In the end we should only have to admire all the more the force that enabled him to get outside that atmosphere into a region where he may not have commanded as wide horizons as might be wished, but where at least he could see clearly.

But if the great father of naturalism sometimes painted his cheeks, and draped himself in the theatrical stuffs of his more romantic brethren, there are many of his followers who have determined to be guilty of no such compromise. Their zeal for the truth as they found it first in Balzac, and yet more clearly enunciated in his professed disciple, Flaubert, has made them as great iconoclasts as were the romantic poets whose images they have striven to destroy. This is not the place to follow their quarrels, where we are treating

of their predecessor—who had quarrels enough, but not of that sort. The school of naturalism has gone far, much too far, in its application of the principles that, it has fancied, are to be drawn from the work of the founder. Its conduct has alienated the affections even of those who from the beginning wished it well. And yet—it requires perhaps some courage to say it at the present moment—we owe to it many an undoubted masterpiece. Those who are in the habit of putting to the account of the principles he professes, the worst things of Zola—or of others, whom we would not wish to mention here—should remember that they have received from the same source, also, his best, and that these are very good. They should remember, too, that the less direct influence of these principles has been beneficent, not only on the novel but on the drama, and that we may thank Balzac for much of the pleasure we have in listening to the plays of Augier, of Dumas Fils, of Sardou.*

In taking leave of the *Comédie Humaine*, which we do with regret, we cannot but feel how inadequate is any attempt to represent the magnificent hurly-burly that it is. Its execution is variable, its creatures are of every degree of vitality. Figures of pure convention, like Vautrin, jostle against others that seem as much flesh and blood as ourselves; the most puerile interests are at work in the midst of the most terrible passions. Comedy, of which there is but little, is overshadowed by tragedy, of which there is a great deal. All classes, all walks of life are there, and their representatives come and go, crossing one another's paths with love and hatred, with fidelity and with treason, and all are warmed with passion, the white heat of their creator. Wonderful man! M. Taine has compared him both to Shakespeare, and to Rembrandt. Another critic has compared him to the tower of Babel. For us, he simply holds the keys of the world, finite as he is finite, but rich, and varied, and terrible. We may get a nightmare by remaining in it too long, and yet it affords a pleasant refuge from more personal cares, and plenty of acquaintances worth cultivating.

JOHN SAFFORD FISKE.

* This opinion is enunciated with the more confidence that it has the support of so able a critic as M. Faguet: *Etudes Littéraires sur le Dix-neuvième Siècle*.

A POLITICAL FRANKENSTEIN.

I.

ANY one who has read Mrs. Shelley's remarkable story will understand why I compare Bulgaria to the monster she describes. Children have been known before now to turn against their parents: but Bulgaria was never thought of as a real living being which would grow up and have a will of its own; it was intended to be a sort of automaton, the wheels of which were to be kept in motion by its principal inventor, with the consent of the others who had assisted in the manufacture.

We can see more clearly what is going on now in its life, if we take a cursory review of the events attending its birth. Without being exactly one of the midwives, I overheard some of the consultations, and knew what went on between the doctors.

The first project for the formation of a separate Bulgaria was that presented to the Conference at Constantinople, after the indignation caused throughout Europe by the massacres of May. This proposed to make all or the greater part of the country inhabited by Bulgarians into a self-governing province, with a Christian governor. The rights of the Sultan were to be preserved, but the province was to pay a fixed tax, and was, in general, to be practically independent, much like one of our Territories. The plan of organization had been worked out on the spot with much care, and the result would have been the creation of a very contented and well-governed country, in no way dangerous to the peace of Europe. Lord Salisbury first divided this province into two by an arbitrary north and south line; and then the other English representative, Sir Henry Elliot, in his zeal for Turkey, persuaded the Porte to reject the proposed arrangement, and thus brought upon his dear friends a bloody, expensive, exhausting, and, what was worse, utterly useless war, which resulted in the dismemberment of the empire. It is true that there were other compensations in the independence of Serbia and Rumania and the enlargement of Greece; but, as far as the Bulgarians are concerned, they would have received from the plan of the Conference, without a war, as many real and practical advantages as they have since enjoyed.

After the war it was, of course, impossible to revert to the original plan. Every one felt that the Bulgarians had then a right to greater independence, and every one felt, too, that Russia, as the liberating power, had a right to direct the political destinies of the country. The Treaty of San Stefano, of March 3, 1878, therefore, not only gave to Bulgaria its greatest possible extent, making it include nearly every district that could by any possibility be claimed as Bulgarian, but formed it into a self-governing country, with its own army and its own laws, and with a prince of its own. It received everything, in fact, short of complete independence, for the Prince was to be a vassal of the Sultan, to whom the country was to pay a nominal tribute. The position thus created for the "Great Bulgaria," as it is technically called, was almost precisely similar to that of Egypt under the Khedive, or of Rumania under Prince Charles.

Turkey had signed and ratified the peace, and the Bulgarians felt that they could count upon their future; that, even though practically governed from Russia, they would at all events have peace, law, and order; that prosperity and civilization would grow together. Unfortunately, in consequence of the threats of England, Russia felt obliged to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to revision by the great powers, a job which was completed in haste, as Bismarck, in his capacity of "the honest broker," wished it soon over; and care was not always taken to study the hidden meaning of some of the innocent-looking clauses that were inserted to please Austria-Hungary. That Power, Great Britain, and France, all left the council-board much richer than they came; each gaining a province or two at the expense of Turkey. The only sufferers were the peoples of the Balkans, for whose benefit the war and the treaties had been made. The occupation of Bosnia and Hersegovina by Austria-Hungary was a blow to the development of a free and united Serbia; and this little country was, furthermore, thrown, financially and commercially, and, as it proved, politically also, into Austria's hands, by means of the clauses relating to railways and commercial treaties. Rumania was restricted in her rights on the Danube; nominally in the interest of the commerce of the world, but really for the benefit of Austria-Hungary. The Bulgarians fared still worse. The country was divided into three parts: one was allowed to remain an autonomous principality; but its growth and development were hindered by the fact that the Province, where most of the wealth, prosperity, and intelligence were concentrated,

was separated under the name of Eastern Rumelia and placed under the more direct rule of the Porte, in accordance with regulations, and under a governor sanctioned and approved by the Powers. The third part was given back to the arbitrary rule of the Sultan, though with the promise of administrative reforms, which were duly considered by commissions but were never carried out.

Besides the mutilation and division of the country Bulgaria was forced to accept the unknown, and not easily ascertainable, engagements of the Sublime Porte toward the railway companies and Austria-Hungary. The railway from Rustchuk to Varna belonged to an English company; but it had been leased to the Austrian company controlled by Baron Hirsch (in which various highly placed personages were interested), which was working the railways of European Turkey, and which in their construction, repair, and working had, with the active assistance of the Austrian Government, perpetrated one of the most colossal financial jobs of this century. Other provisions of the Berlin Treaty bound Bulgaria in certain respects to definite obligations toward Europe. The only stipulation absolutely in her favor was that which diminished the period during which she should be under Russian tutelage, from two years to nine months. That time was given her in which to set her governing machine in motion; after which she was to be left to herself, exempt from the legal interference even of Russia, although full play was allowed to the exertion of Russian influence. This, however, was not intended in the interest of Bulgaria; but to guard the interests of England and Turkey, and to prevent Bulgaria from becoming to all intents and purposes a Russian province, and thereby ultimately causing new trouble in Europe. It will be seen, therefore, that the Bulgarians had no particular reason for being grateful to Europe, or to the powers which had signed the Treaty of Berlin. Their gratitude was rightfully due, and was freely given, to Russia; which Power, even admitting ulterior and selfish objects, had at the cost of great sacrifices obtained Bulgarian independence. At that time it was thought an easy matter for Russia not only to retain and strengthen the affections of the Bulgarian people, but to control and guide their destinies. That this expectation was ultimately deceived, came, in part, from the natural desire of every people to govern themselves without arbitrary foreign interference, but chiefly from the unwisdom of the Russian policy and the unskilfulness, folly, and over bearing conduct of her agents.

The Russians had begun the work of organization on their first entry into Bulgaria, partly for their own convenience, and partly because, for the interests of the country as well as for their own, it was necessary to show to Europe that a civil administration had been rapidly formed and was already in working order. The task was intrusted to Prince Tcherkássky, who had proved himself a capable administrator in Poland and at Moscow, and who was a far-seeing and able statesman. Unfortunately he died at San Stefano on the very day of the signature of the treaty. He was succeeded by Prince Dondukóf-Korsáko, who had been for many years Governor-General of the Province of Kief—a difficult region to govern—and was highly considered for his tact and administrative qualities. There was, indeed, a great show of governing on the Russian provincial plan; there was rebuilding of towns and making of roads; there were no end of institutions and commissions, many of them, however, only on paper; and the country soon took on the air of a fairly flourishing outlying Russian province. Of all the results effected by the administration of Dondukóf-Korsáko, little now remains except the extremely bad pavement of one street in Sofia, which has perhaps been preserved because it has been carefully avoided by travellers. Of the \$3,000,000 or thereabouts which General Sóbolev says had been economized, not one cent was found when the government of Prince Alexander took possession of the treasury. When Prince Alexander complained a year later that the National Bank could not be made to work, so stupidly had its laws been drawn up, Dondukóf laughingly answered, "You must be very simple to have taken that institution seriously."

By the Treaty of Berlin an Assembly of Notables was to meet at Tirnova, draw up a constitution, and then elect a prince. The Russians chose for their model the Constitution of Serbia, which they closely imitated, the main feature being that the Legislative Assembly was to be composed of half the bishops, half the judges, and a number of elected delegates proportioned to the population (one to 20,000), in addition to whom the Prince could appoint half as many more. The plan was, perhaps, not a bad one for a people untried in the practice of self-government on a large scale, though they had had experience of it in church and village matters ever since their conquest by the Turks; but it had the disadvantage, as is still seen in Serbia, of nearly always allowing a minister to return a majority of his own supporters.

When the Constituent Assembly met, it did not seem inclined to proceed to business, and came near adjourning as a protest against the decision of the Treaty of Berlin. It required a sharp telegram from the Emperor of Russia to get them started, and even then there was great dissatisfaction at the exclusion of the deputies sent from Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia. It cannot be said that at this time there were really any parties, in the proper sense of the term; nor can we even admit the distinction made by Prince Alexander's chaplain, Herr Koch, into "wild" and "tame." The persons designated as "tame" were, for the most part, those who had received or completed their education in Russia or Western Europe, where they had unconsciously imbibed notions of government which were afterward called conservative. The remainder, and the great majority, were chiefly men of little education; but they were led by a number of young men who have since made their mark, who had received their education under American influences. They were, also, sometimes counselled by an American then at Tirnova, whose zeal frequently outran his discretion. With all this, an anti-Russian feeling began to show itself. The Russians had not treated the Bulgarians any too kindly during the war, nor had they been the mildest governors during the occupation. They had stigmatized the peasants as cowardly and unpatriotic because they had wished to be paid for the provisions and forage taken from them by the troops. The Bulgarians were willing to consider the Russians as their "brothers," but resented dictation, and were enchanted with the thought of governing themselves. Many did not see why they should merely exchange Turkish for Russian masters. With all this, it was soon seen that the constitution proposed by Russia had very little chance of being accepted, although it was recommended by the committee appointed for its examination, which was composed chiefly of moderate men but whose chairman had the misfortune to say that it was desirable that the constitution should be permeated by a spirit of judicious conservatism. The result was that the project was rejected by the Assembly, and a constitution passed of a far more liberal character, and which, it must be admitted, was somewhat too advanced for the country at that time. Dondukóf-Korsákof had a moment of irritation at the failure of his plan; but in his heart he laughed at the whole farce—as he considered it—and accepted without difficulty the constitution as it had been passed.

For prince there was only one serious candidature. There had

been a slight movement in favor of Prince Dondukóf-Korsákof, and also of General Ignatieff; but the Tsar absolutely refused to allow a subject to mount the throne, and the treaty excluded members of the reigning houses of the great powers. On the second ballot, April 29, 1879, Prince Alexander of Battenberg was unanimously elected. He had been fixed upon by the Tsar early in the war, and as a preliminary experience had accompanied the Russian army during most of the campaign. He was the second son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, the favorite brother of the Empress of Russia, who had been for many years a general in the Austrian service, and while there had married, morganatically but legally, the daughter of a Polish nobleman, Count Haucke, at one time Austrian Minister of War. The Countess, on her marriage, had been created Princess of Battenberg, and the children took that title. While their aunt on the father's side was Empress of Russia, one of their uncles on the mother's side had been condemned to death for participation in a Polish revolution against Russia. Prince Alexander had been educated in Germany, and was then a lieutenant of dragoons in the German service.

The Prince was dining with the Russian ambassador at Berlin, on the birthday of the Tsar, when he received the telegram announcing his election. He hesitated somewhat before accepting, chiefly because he thought himself hampered by the constitution; but went to Livadia in the Crimea to see his uncle, the Emperor Alexander II., who persuaded him to undertake the responsibility. He then made a tour of the great powers, winning over sovereigns and statesmen by the charm and grace of his person and bearing, and finally, on July 9, 1879, took the oath of office at Tirnova.

The Prince was at first obliged to rely on the experience and counsels of M. Davýdof, the Russian Consul-General, who gave him information as to the Bulgarians most likely to be of use to him in forming his government. Personal jealousies and feelings prevented a coalition of the two opposing factions; and he decided to form his first Cabinet entirely from the group which called themselves Conservatives, but which was in a minority in the country, having been totally defeated on all the questions arising during the Constituent Assembly. Of this group, three men, Stoílof, Grékof, and Náthcho-vitch, not only preserved their personal influence with the Prince until the end, but have greatly increased their weight in the country since, owing to their natural prudence and increased experience.

The two latter entered the Cabinet as ministers; Stoilof became the intimate adviser of the Prince as his Chief of Cabinet. These are the three known by the Russians as the camarilla, or the triumvirate, and hated as opposed to Russian designs and as being Bulgarian patriots; but who, in spite of occasional slips and errors, have acted chiefly with a view to their country's good, and have been great factors in making Bulgaria what it is now. The Ministry of War was held by a Russian, General Parentzof, who was unfortunately too young, utterly unfit for the place, and of bad manners, as it proved; he immediately began to intrigue against the Prince, as being a German, in which he was aided by Colonel Shépelef, attached to the person of the Prince as Russian military agent and adviser.

In the first Assembly, the Liberals greatly outnumbered the Conservatives, being 150 to 30. They immediately demanded a change of ministry, but the Prince refused and dissolved the Chamber. This was a great mistake, owing to inexperience in government—especially in constitutional government—and to a purely military education. Later he learned to see that his only way of governing was with the help of the party which represented the great majority of the voters; and that other methods are only possible in a country like Prussia, where a Bismarck can govern in spite of an opposing Chamber; or like the United States, where the positions of ministers do not depend on the votes of the representative body. The difficulties attending this course were so great that, when the Prince went to St. Petersburg at the beginning of 1880, to attend the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II., he asked for a change of the constitution. General Milietin, the Minister of War, replied that the constitution had not yet had a fair trial; that it was too soon to think of changing it; and advised the Prince to try a Liberal Cabinet. The Emperor agreed with this and gave sound counsel, characteristic of the man: "If you act with moderation and, if need be, with the energetic use of your legal powers, you will succeed in winning respect and love. The art of managing men is one that can be learned, and every day will give you greater skill." It was not, however, until the new elections showed a still greater Liberal majority that the Prince accepted a Liberal ministry, the leading members of which were Zánkof and Karavélof.

The Tsar, at the request of the Prince, had relieved him of the tutelage of his military adviser, Colonel Shépelef, and had re-

placed the intriguing Minister of War by General Ernroth, a very worthy man, who devoted himself to the service of the Prince ; although, unfortunately, his ideas were not large, and, in spite of being a Finlander, he was a firm believer in absolutism. He carried out orders and engaged in no intrigues. Unfortunately M. Davýdof, the most experienced, clear-headed, cautious, and honest agent that Russia has ever had at Sofia, was recalled at the same time, and in his place there was appointed, through the influence of a Russian financial ring, a M. Cumáni, who had resigned his position as Counsel of the Embassy at Constantinople—the first place after the ambassador—to become agent for the Austrian Jew, Baron Hirsch, in his Turkish railway dealings.

Meanwhile, even after such a short period of independent life, the Bulgarians had begun to suspect, to dislike, and even to be disgusted with the Russians. There were deep-seated as well as superficial reasons for this discontent. Among the latter were the arbitrary and tyrannical acts of the Russian civil officials still remaining in the country ; the contempt with which they and the Russian officers regarded the Bulgarians, and the manner in which they outraged the moral feelings of the latter. The Bulgarians are a virtuous and honest as well as thrifty race, and it went against the grain to see Russian officers, whom they had to pay out of their hard-gained earnings, spending it all for suppers and champagne, and *cafés-chantants*, and the entertainment of loose women. There were many good and honorable men among the Russian officers ; there was a great sprinkling of men who were being given their last chance before being finally disgraced ; and there were some who were even too bad for Central Asia. Indeed, Bulgaria has always been treated by Russia as if it were situated somewhere near Khiva, and, whether from defective information—which can hardly be supposed—or from a mistaken appreciation of it, the Russians have not seemed able to understand the Bulgarian character in its actual or possible development. They have persisted in treating the Bulgarians as beings far inferior to the uneducated Russian peasant, who certainly has many excellent qualities which Bulgarians do not possess.

Among the more serious reasons for Bulgarian suspicions of Russia were the intrigues of all kinds carried on by nearly every Russian official. It must be said, in all justice, that in the East and in a country not thoroughly organized, where intriguing is so natural, so easy, and so *very amusing*, only men of strong character and cool

judgment can refrain from it; but, unfortunately, very few of the Russian officials had this necessary coolness and balance. When there were not three, there were two Russians, the Consul-General and the Minister of War, who received their instructions from different sources, and then used their own judgment in carrying them out, as well as in working for quite different ends. The Bulgarians were sharp and wily enough to see the divergence of views between the Russian agents present at any one time; and between any one and his predecessor, for changes were frequent. They began to suspect that each was pursuing his own personal policy for selfish reasons. There was obviously one proper course for Russia to follow—and it was probably the course originally intended by the Government—*i. e.*, to confine itself strictly within the rôle of the protecting and guiding power; making the army as serviceable as possible for an auxiliary in case of a war; guiding the foreign policy of the principality; abstaining from any interference, however slight, in the internal affairs of the country; and giving the young and inexperienced Prince a discreet and silent mentor, who would really have great influence while seeming to have none. This part Davýdof played with some success; but, with the exception of General Ernoth, all the leading Russian officials secretly intrigued either for or against the Prince, and generally openly sided with political factions. The Bulgarians seeing this, often used them to further their own ends, and then laughed at them behind their backs.

Most important of all in detaching Bulgaria from Russia were the acts and intrigues of the financial ring at Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Bulgarians had made their money with difficulty, and looked carefully after the spending of it; and the proposals for banks and railways and public works repeated, urged, and pressed, even with threats, by the various Russian agents, the easy talk about millions, about guarantees, and profits, raised suspicions that the chief object of the Russians was to exploit the country; that its importance to them was financial, rather than political or strategical. The phrase, "But we have shed our blood for you," had so often been repeated as to become a by-word; and no Russian proposition—especially a financial one—could escape severe scrutiny.

When I speak of the Russian financial ring, I do not mean that there exists an organized body of men for mutual assistance in financial enterprises and for a division of profits. But in a country like Russia, where the middle classes are few in numbers, and where the

mercantile classes have been till lately deficient in education, the fever for commercial and industrial undertakings, which has greatly spread in the last twenty years, has necessarily brought to the aid of speculators many of the official and noble classes. This has been to some extent the case in Berlin and Vienna also ; but nowhere can be seen as many generals and high officials active or passive directors in banks, railways, or companies, and ardently engaged in speculation, as in St. Petersburg. This state of things has, therefore, brought about, wherever personal interests do not clash, a certain solidarity between the great capitalists and the high officials. Life in St. Petersburg is expensive, especially in these days ; many people speculate, so many good chances coming to them through official sources ; still more invest their little savings, and therefore feel a kindly interest in all financial enterprises. The result is that any scheme which has the support of some high officials and great nobles will be sure to command the aid of all who may some day hope for favor or preferment. Among the financial grandees of Russia at the present moment are Baron G nzburg, a Jewish banker ; Poliak f, a Jew from Southern Russia ; and Gub nin, originally a Moscow merchant, and now the rival of Poliak f in railways. There is scarcely an official in Russia who has invested or made money in enterprises, who has not been at some time placed under obligations to one of these three men, or to one of their like. When we know that men high in the Foreign Office have large investments, and even in a covert way speculate on the Bourse ; and when we find General Obr tchef, the Chief of the General Staff and practical head of the Russian army, accused of being a member of the ring, we can perfectly understand that lesser officials who have no pecuniary interest themselves, are very careful not to thwart the plans, or run counter to the possible interests, of their superiors.

When Prince Alexander arrived for the first time at Varna, even before he had taken the oaths, he was asked to receive the representatives of G nzburg and Poliak f, who brought recommendations from many high Russian officials, among others a very warm one from the Imperial Chancery. The Prince, who wished to keep clear of all financial transactions, such as have been malevolently alleged against the kings of Rumania and Serbia, could only reply that, in view of the pressure brought to bear from Russia, he would represent the matter to his ministry as soon as constituted. What was wanted at this time was, first, a concession for a network of rail-

ways to be built in Bulgaria, with the exclusive right of making the preliminary surveys, which would effectually prevent all competition as to terms ; second, the right to establish a national bank. The charter of the bank was so drawn as to allow it to take charge of the whole financial operations of the State, including the ordinary service of the treasury, all public loans, all public works, all savings and deposit banks, and even the coining of money and the issue of notes. It was to have, also, the privilege of lending money on mortgages and purchasing real estate, and of furnishing capital for commercial and industrial enterprises in the country. The regulations were so contrived as to secure to the original shareholders complete control over the whole capital in case of any subsequent issue of shares ; in other words, the whole commercial and financial interests of the country were to be placed in the hands of two Russian Jews, MM. Günzburg and Poliakóf. As I have said, the Bulgarians are keen about money matters ; and the ministry, in spite of the pressure, demanded time for deliberation, and subsequently decided to present to the Chamber only the railway proposals. When the Chamber was dissolved and a new ministry formed, those ministers most hostile to the Russian financial projects were dismissed. Outin, the agent of the speculators, when the new ministry was announced from the gallery, exclaimed, "At last we have a ministry with which one can do business." For this he was attacked in the newspapers, and, on his complaining to M. Davýdof, Consul-General, was told that, if he did not wish to be written against, he should not mix himself up in the affairs of the country. From that moment the ring declared war against Davýdof, who was soon removed.

The new ministry showed the same reserve as the first ministry had done toward the propositions of the Russian speculators ; but, on the continued urging of M. Cumáni, the Russian agent, and of the Prince (who wished to content Russia and had been led to believe that the railways were desired by the Tsar for strategic purposes), the Archbishop Clement consented to introduce into the next Assembly a bill establishing a national bank, but absolutely refused to sign the contract proposed. When the speculators saw they could get no further, they immediately turned round and warmly espoused the side of the opposition ; and it has been stated on good authority, and not contradicted, that, to provide for electoral expenses, they contributed \$40,000 to the party of Karavélof and Zánkof. This contribution, if it was really given, was entirely

superfluous, as the Chamber in any case would have had a large Liberal majority. The Zánkof Ministry now felt in its turn the pressure of the Russian coterie; the railway project was again brought up and persistently urged by Cumáni, who, calling attention to the fact that Bulgaria was bound by the Treaty of Berlin to complete its part of the railway link between Belgrade and Constantinople, represented how important it was, both for Russia and Bulgaria, that a railway from Sofia to Rustchuk should be built first; so that, in case of disturbances in Macedonia, the Russian troops could arrive on the spot at least as soon as the Austrian. Zánkof and the Assembly were still too sharp for the Russians, and were unwilling to commit themselves to an indeterminate concession where no plans, estimates, or preliminary surveys were presented; the ministry laid the project before the Chamber, which that body, however, accepted as its own, approving the principle of the railway and authorizing the Government to make the necessary surveys and bring in a bill on the subject in the next session, without saying a word about Messrs. Günzburg and Poliakóf. Although no positive advantage had yet been gained, it was a partial victory for the ring; the Bulgarian Assembly should not have accepted the project, even in this modified form. But as it was necessary to conceal their operations, the ring demanded and obtained from Karavélof—for Zánkof had been obliged to resign to please Austria on the Danube question—that M. Hogdé should be dismissed. This was a French financial official who had been sent out by the French Government at the request of the Prince, to organize the treasury department. He had scarcely yet entered on duty, and, therefore, in accordance with the terms of the contract, received \$16,000 in compensation. It is pleasing to state that he immediately gave the half of this sum to the French school at Sofia.

So many difficulties beset Prince Alexander that the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II., on March 13, 1881, gave him a very severe shock. He was not only influenced by the love and affection which he bore his uncle, and by the horrible manner of the latter's death, but he felt that he had lost his chief supporter and protector, and feared that his position was greatly shaken. He therefore started the next day for St. Petersburg; partly to attend the funeral, and partly to learn the sentiments of the new Emperor. A few days after his return, he astonished the country by issuing a proclamation, dated May 9, in which he de-

clared his intention of abdicating unless the constitution were suspended and he were given dictatorial powers for seven years, and called a meeting of the Great Assembly to accept either his propositions or his abdication. Responsibility for this step rested chiefly on the Prince himself, but he was pushed on by General Ernroth, his Russian Minister of War, and especially by Herr von Thielau, the German Consul-General. He was encouraged in this course, also, by various people in St. Petersburg to whom he had explained the difficulties of the situation; and the members of the financial ring approved of his ideas, thinking that with a man whom they considered weak, and who had hitherto more or less approved of their schemes, they would find no difficulty as soon as he should possess sole and arbitrary power. Officially the Russian Government knew nothing about it, and had given no consent. M. Hitrovo, the new Russian diplomatic agent (for Cumáni had been recalled at the earnest request of the Prince) was surprised by the news while lingering in Vienna. Russia, however, lost no time in accepting the *fait accompli*, and in supporting the Prince. The Emperor conferred on his cousin the red ribbon of St. Alexander Nevsky; the Foreign Office sent an approving telegram, which was at once widely circulated, and in which it said: "the Imperial Government wishes the Bulgarian people to maintain their indissoluble union with the Prince, and reject the enticements of ambitious agitators who seek to trouble this good understanding." Hitrovo was ordered to accompany the Prince during his electoral campaign, and to lay stress on the wishes of the Tsar in his favor. The Ministry had, of course, been at once dismissed; General Ernroth was intrusted with almost dictatorial powers for the period of the elections; Russian officers took the government of every province, and the elections were, of course, a mere farce. In some places the Liberals were not allowed to come to the polls; in others, where Liberal delegates were returned, the elections were annulled on the ground—*mirabile dictu*—of terrorism. It was hinted to the peasants that there would be freedom from taxation during the seven years. The result was that over three hundred delegates were returned in favor of the *coup-d'état*, and only twenty-five against it. The Great Assembly met at Sistova on July 13th, and, as the small minority thought it useless to attend at the risk of their lives, it was able to organize, to vote unanimously the Prince's propositions, to listen to the reading of the manifesto, and to be dissolved, within the short space of twenty minutes.

The same day M. Hitrovo announced to the Prince the speedy arrival of General Struve with pressing letters of introduction, especially from General Obrútschef, Chief of the General Staff, to ask in the name of the Russian Government the concession of the Sofia-Rustchuk Railway. General Ernroth immediately resigned; partly because he found it impossible to work together with M. Hitrovo, and was disinclined to be mixed up with the financial schemes which the latter patronized. The same day, too, a new ministry was formed, composed of two Russian officers, a Wallachian resident in Russia, a Bohemian, and only two Bulgarians.

At the first council of ministers held under the presidency of the Prince there were present the two Bulgarians, the Bohemian, and Lieutenant-Colonel Römlingen, who had been made Minister of the Interior and of Public Works, with, also, M. Hitrovo, General Struve, and Kopítkin, a young and inexperienced Russian engineer, who had been introduced as Director of Public Works. The only subject of discussion was the railway from Sofia to Rustchuk, and it turned out that although Struve professed to represent the Russian Government, he was in reality agent of Günzburg and Poliakóf. He demanded the immediate concession of the railway, on the ground of the decision of the previous Chamber; but finally contented himself with a request for the exclusive right of surveying the proposed line. The Prince had fortunately shielded himself by his very first proclamation, in which he had left the decision of all financial matters to the Chamber. It was even more annoying to find that the presence in the council chamber of the Russian diplomatic agent did not render the Bulgarian ministers more supple. These consented, not to give Struve exclusive permission to survey the line, but to empower him to make surveys as the agent of the Bulgarian Government. Nevertheless, Römlingen, in spite of the decision of the Council, wrote a letter to Struve, granting him the exclusive right of making surveys and proposals. For this and for other arbitrary conduct—not only in relation to the railways, but by his too frequent use of the whip and the knout as aid, to his administration—the Prince removed the latter from office. But such delicate treatment was required in the case of Russians that it was necessary for this purpose to ask the authorization of the Tsar, who telegraphed back, "I permit you to make a last trial with a Bulgarian minister."

When it was found that, after all the difficulties placed in the

way, the convention for completing the railway from Belgrade to Constantinople had been signed, and that Bulgaria would be obliged to construct its portion at once, Hitrovo renewed his instances with the Prince for the concession of the Sofia-Rustchuk line, talked much about its strategic necessity to Russia, and laid great stress upon its being the personal wish of the Emperor Alexander III., finally accusing the Prince of wilfully playing into the hands of Austria. The ministers at last agreed to the project on two conditions: that it should be proved to them by an official document, and not by mere letters of recommendation, that Russia really desired the railway; and second, that the Russian Government should either advance money or guarantee a loan for its construction. With this Hitrovo went to St. Petersburg: but, in spite of all his influence, the ring was not so powerful in high Government circles as had been supposed; opinions were divided as to the advantage and utility of the railway; and, although the question was discussed in the council of ministers, it was unanimously decided to refuse any financial responsibility. It was added, however, that, if the Bulgarians chose to build the railway, the Russian Government would not be displeased, and would even be glad to help them by introductions to some banking-houses.

It may seem as if too much stress were laid on these financial intrigues; but they had their importance in alienating Bulgarian feeling from Russia. Bulgarians could not well see why gratitude toward the country which had liberated them should compel them to enrich a lot of speculators who, as they at first suspected and afterward knew, in no way represented the Russian Government or the Russian people. The accusations that Hitrovo had a pecuniary interest in the matter seemed to them well-founded, as they knew of his financial embarrassments, and had heard of the equivocal reputation and debts that he had left wherever he had been.

So far the full powers granted to the Prince had not produced much effect on the government of the country. There was continued protest and agitation, which greatly increased now that Hitrovo turned against the Prince and openly allied himself with the radicals. In order to undermine the authority of the Prince he fomented intrigues which were against the interests of the country, such as the sending of an armed band into Bosnia, and attempted to disturb the allegiance of the Russian officers serving in the Bulgarian army. With the connivance of General Krýlof, Minister of

War, an order of the day was issued to the Russian officers informing them that, as Russian subjects, they must obey the orders of the Russian agency, which represented the Emperor, in preference to orders emanating from the Prince. Fortunately this order did not have the effect that was expected. Just about this time there were other difficulties in the army. It was reported that serious peculations had occurred in the Shumla cavalry regiment; and, on a personal inspection, the Prince satisfied himself that the equipment and material were in very bad condition. Soon after loud complaints were made by the peasantry that parties of this regiment, commanded by non-commissioned officers, rode about the country at night and robbed them of hay and oats. These non-commissioned officers, on being called to account, admitted the charge, and stated that they had acted under the orders of their captains. The captains, in turn, threw the blame on the colonel, who had charge of the military chest, and who for a long time had given out no money. In order to preserve the honor of the Russian officers as a body, the Prince felt compelled to dismiss from the service *all* the regimental officers, both Bulgarians and Russians. This was afterward brought up against him, for the Russian war department could not forgive such want of consideration for the Russian officers. The Prince also insisted on the dismissal of the chief of the engineering department, who had made too free with the funds intrusted to him; but to this Hitrovo and Krýlof opposed strong objections, and while the Prince insisted, Popof, the assistant of the Minister of War, began an agitation among the officers, whereupon he was dismissed. A farewell dinner was given to Popof, in which Hitrovo and several of the higher Russian officers took part, as a demonstration against the Prince. The latter then ordered General Krýlof to forbid officers taking part in any demonstration without his consent. The general hesitated and was ordered to resign. General Lesovóy was appointed Minister of War *ad interim*, despite the protest of Hitrovo that the position could only be filled by the Russian Government.

This was too much for the Prince, who, after taking the advice of the leading Bulgarians, went to St. Petersburg, represented the state of affairs to the Emperor, asked for the recall of Hitrovo—which was granted—for strict orders that the Russian diplomatic agency should not meddle in internal affairs, and for a new Russian War Minister, being persuaded to accept a Russian also as Minister of

the Interior, in order to counterbalance the Bohemian, Jiretchek. He further asked the Emperor for an order to the Russian officers in the Bulgarian service, that any offence against the Prince should be considered and treated as an offence against the Emperor himself. This order, which was written out by the Prince in the Emperor's presence, was subsequently withdrawn and disowned, and Lesovóy was recalled for having read it to the officers. It was decided that the diplomatic agency should for the present remain in the hands of the secretary, Arsénief, who would thus be in an inferior position. The choice for Minister of War fell upon Major-General Alexander Kaulbars, and, at his request, Major-General Sóbolef, with whose family he had intimate relations, accompanied him as Minister of the Interior.

Here begins a new period in Bulgarian affairs. The story of the griefs of the Bulgarians is not yet complete ; but it is necessary now to explain how the feeling in Russia gradually rose against Prince Alexander—"the Battenberger," as the newspapers sarcastically began to call him ; why suspicions of his fair dealing took such deep root in the mind of the Emperor ; why, after the abduction and abdication of Alexander, the same feelings and suspicions have beset the ruling party in Bulgaria ; and how, at last, the state of things has become so changed that there can be no more return to the old, but that, in any international arrangement which may be made for the principality, *the will of Bulgaria must be first consulted*. This must be the subject of another article.

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

(Conclusion in the next number.)

THE FRENCH PROVINCIAL SPIRIT.

As the French social instinct culminates in the French religion of patriotism, French individual vanity becomes conceit whenever the Frenchman contemplates France or the foreigner. The egotism which he personally lacks is conspicuously characteristic of himself and his fellows considered as a nation. Nationally considered, the people composed of the most cosmopolitan and conformable individuals in the world distinctly displays the provincial spirit. Other peoples have their doubts, their misgivings. They take refuge in vagueness, in emotional exaggeration, in commonplaces, in pure brag. We have ourselves a certain invincibility of expectation that transfigures our present and reconciles us to our lack of a past. Or, when we are confronted with evidence of specific inferiority, we adduce counterbalancing considerations, of which it need not be said we enjoy a greater abundance even than most of us are prepared on the instant to recall—"comfort and oysters" were all a certain compatriot could think of in one emergency, according to a recent anecdote. But France is to the mind, rather than to the feeling, of every Frenchman, as distinctly *la grande nation* to-day as she was in the reign of *le grand monarque*, when she had fewer rivals. The rise of these has made little impression on her. M. Victor Duruy begins his history by citing from "some great foreign poet," of whose name he is characteristically ignorant, the statement that France is "the Soldier of God." Every Frenchman echoes the words of Stendhal, who, nevertheless, in general strikingly illustrates what Mr. Spencer calls the "bias of anti-patriotism": "We, the greatest people that has ever existed—yes, even after 1815!" The "mission" of France is in every Frenchman's mind. Her many Cassandras spring from the universal consciousness of it, and are, besides, more articulate than convinced. Antiquity itself, to which it is a tendency of much modern culture to revert for many of its ideals, seems in a way rudimentary to the French, who, even during the First Empire, deemed themselves engaged in developing, rather than copying, classic models, from administration to attire. More than any other people with whom comparison could fitly be made,

they seem ignorant of what is thought and done outside the borders of their own territory. It is probable that not only the Germans, a large class of whom know everything and whose rapacity of acquisition nothing escapes, and the English and ourselves, who are great travellers, but persons of almost any nationality to be encountered anywhere abroad, are far more familiar with French books, French history, French topography, French ways, than the average intelligent Frenchman is with those of any country but his own.

The French travel less than any other people. Less than any people do they savor what is distinctly national abroad. Not only do they emigrate less; France is so agreeable to Frenchmen, and to Frenchmen of every station, that it is small wonder they are such pilgrims and strangers abroad, and tarry there so short a time unless necessity compels them. But, as one travels to become civilized, and as in French eyes civilization reaches perfection only in France, the chief motive for travel is lacking to them. "We need to study, not to travel. A travelled Frenchman is no more civilized than his stay-at-home compatriots—which is not the case elsewhere. Besides, nowadays, you know, we have photographs"—*naïveté* like this it is not uncommon to hear in Paris. The *Temps*, probably on the whole the best journal in the world, never has occasion to refer to the United States without falling into some gross error of fact, such as its American analogue would be incapable of making in regard to France, though the latter shows considerably less sympathetic disposition to appreciate French currents of feeling and thought than the *Temps* does in the converse case. Every American traveller has encountered the Frenchman who believed that the Civil War was a contest between North and South America, and has been astonished by his general intelligence, which is wholly superior to that of our people of an analogous ignorance. The entire French attitude toward foreigners strikes us as curiously conscious and sensitive. In Paris, certainly, the foreigner, hospitably as he is invariably treated, is invariably treated as the foreigner that he is. His observations about French politics, manners, art, are received with what slight impatience civility permits; and often, indeed, they are of an exasperating absurdity. He is made to perceive that all these things are distinctly matters of French concern. The Frenchman feels too acutely the privilege of being a Frenchman to extend the favor, even by courtesy, to the stranger within his gates. He has laws which authorize him to expel from French territory foreigners who

displease him. When the little American daily, the *Morning News*, treated the Parisians to some American "journalistic enterprise" about the healthfulness of Nice, some years ago, there was an amusing outcry for its immediate exile as a foreign publication. When the late King Alfonso passed through Paris after accepting in Germany a colonelcy of Uhlans, President Grévy was obliged to apologize for the conduct of the Paris mob, which hissed and hooted him as if there were no such thing as French civility, which, nevertheless, is proof against everything but Chauvinism. Accurately estimated as Wagner is by the leading French musicians, and avid as are the Parisians of whatever is new in art, Paris is so distinctly an entity and as such takes itself so seriously, that it would not listen to "Lohengrin" because the author of "Lohengrin" had, nearly twenty years before, insulted it after a manner which, one would say, Paris would be glad to condone as natural to German *grossièreté*, and therefore as unworthy of remembrance. The artists of the *Salon* lose a similar opportunity of showing themselves superior to provincialism of a particularly crass kind, in visiting the æsthetic primitiveness of our Congressmen on the individual American painter, who is already only too impotently ashamed of it.

The provincial spirit born of an exaggerated sense of nationality has nowhere else proved so fatal to France, perhaps, as in closing her perceptions to one of the very greatest forces of the century. The modern spirit is illustrated in many ways more signally and splendidly by the French than by any other people, but they have notably missed its industrial side. Industrialism may almost be said to play the chief part in the modern world, to be one of those influences which contribute the most to national grandeur and individual importance. Beside its triumphs, those of the military spirit are surely beginning to seem fleeting and ineffective. Standing armies were never so colossal and never cost so much, but, despite the fact that no one can foresee the manner of their decline, it is already plain that the system which they support must ally itself with industrialism, or perish before it; which is only an extended way of putting Napoleon's remark that "an army travels on its belly." Democracy may have as much use for force as feudalism had, but it is only the more clear for this that the heaviest battalions are to be on the side of the particular democracy which best apprehends and applies the principles of peaceful industry in their widest scope and exactest precision. If there be anything in these inconsistent with

eminence in literature, art, natural science, diplomacy, philosophy, with the ideal, in short, so much the worse for the ideal. It is the *fittest*, not the best, that survives. But it is far more probable that what is generally called materialism is often only so called because the science of it has not yet been discovered. The future will certainly account nationality a puissant and beneficent force just in proportion as the nationality of the future imbues itself with the spirit of industrialism, which at the present time appears, superficially at least, so unnational, so cosmopolitan. Witness already not only the wealth of Anglo-Saxondom, but the way in which this wealth serves to promulgate the Anglo-Saxon ideals, imperfect as these are. Now, at a time when the foundations of modern society were being laid, France was neglecting the practice, if not the philosophy, of industrialism. Only in a philosophical and speculative way—and, indeed, one may add, an amateur way—did she concern herself with it. She was wholly given over to the things of the mind, of the heart, of the soul, examining the sanctions of every creed, every conception, every virtue even, and so preoccupied with encyclopædism that she forgot colonization entirely. She threw away Canada, which she had administered with a sagacity wholly surpassing that of the English administration of the then loyal America. She allowed herself to be driven from India. She made only a desultory effort to develop her possessions in South America. While Turgot was studying his reforms, writing political economy, discovering that needless wages were in reality but alms, meditating and administering with a brilliance and power that place him at the very head of French statesmanship, the English Turgot was plundering India. While the French were pondering and discussing the *Contrat Social*, the English were putting money in their purse, with which to fight the Napoleonic wars and restore the ancient régime at the Congress of Vienna. By force of intelligence, of impatience with sophisms, of passion for pure reason, by detestation of privilege and love for humanity, feudality in France was being undermined; while by force of energy, of strenuous, steadfast, and heroic determination, Hastings was enabling England, by condoning infamy, to substitute wealth for institutional reform.

The result is very visible at the present day, and complicates the French outlook not a little. French credit is still high, but French finances give the wisest French economists melancholy forebodings. French commerce and manufactures are very considerable, but, unlike

her agriculture, they are so in spite of, rather than because of, French institutions. The settlement of the land question followed naturally upon the adoption of the Rights of Man, whereas the Revolution left the questions of trade and finance untouched in their provincial seventeenth-century status. Immigration and geographical situation go far to atone for the un-American stupidity of our tariff, but the same provincial spirit works much greater provincial results in France, where no good luck in the industrial field counterbalances the effects of subsidies and protection. The nation is at once the most industrious and the least industrial of the great nations. Notable exceptions there are; but not only do these thrive at the expense of the mass, but, these included, the business of the nation seems, by comparison with that of England and ourselves, exaggeratedly retail, where indeed traces of its activity are not altogether lacking. An Englishman notes at once the tremendous depleting cost of consuming only native manufactures. An American remarks a surprising absence of business of all kinds, except in the luxuries and decorations of life. The smallness of the scale, the universal two prices for everything, the restriction of speculation to a small army of professed speculators, the way in which the trade in *articles de Paris* and *nouveautés* dominates in importance that in grain, cotton, groceries, and provisions, the outnumbering of drays and trucks by handcarts and cabs, the immense preponderance of little shops over what we are really etymological in calling "stores"—these things seem provincial not to our Philistinism so much as to our ideality.

It is very well to be at the head of civilization, to represent most perfectly of all nations "the humanization of man in society," but you must manage to live, to endure; and to endure you must take note of the forces at work around you, you must see the way the world is going. You must not at the present day be so exclusively devoted to *Geist*, however justifiably Mr. Arnold may sing its praises to his own countrymen, as to let your commercial instincts atrophy. Such costly fiascos as the Tonquin expedition are the price paid by France for that uncommercial character betrayed in the use of the term "*article d'export*" for whatever is cheap and poor. At a time when every European nation is colonizing in search of markets, success is not to be won by exporting brummagem. Curiously enough, even in the domain of art, where the French are, one would say, thoroughly commercial (as well as, of course, admirable executants),

a critic in *L'Art* rebukes the provincial French disregard of foreign art, by begging his countrymen to be, at least, lenient enough to examine before disapproving, and asking them how they would like to be judged solely on the art products they themselves send abroad. The French belief that foreigners can be made to buy an article in art or industry that Frenchmen would reject is, indeed, directly associated with their conviction that in all activities you can only be amusing to them, never instructive; and that while they welcome the strangeness which other peoples resent, there is no more utility in exchanging ideas than dry goods with you. And not only do they lose in national consideration in this way, but, to note a by no means unimportant detail, they miss the development of character that a national genius for industrialism in its large aspects stimulates in individual citizens. The amassing of money makes misers of Frenchmen. There is no amassing on a large scale that is not known and described as avarice. There are no Vanderbilts. Their laws securing the distribution of wealth stimulate sordidness instead of speculation. For speculation the mass of the people substitute the lottery, which is certainly a provincial form of business risk. Holders of successful tickets almost never dissipate their winnings, but employ them sensibly and economically. Petty gambling is nearly universal, but its scale is usually parochial. The gambling at the Paris Bourse is, of course, colossal in amount, but in its area of influence it is restricted. There are comparatively few "lambs shorn" there, and the temptation to take a "flyer" in the market does not assail the average citizen.

Moreover, the necessity for an immense army keeps the military spirit in fashion. Every citizen passes through the *caserne*, and retains something of its feeling. Duels, fine uniforms, contempt of civilians, patronage of "trades-people," survive from the middle-age predominance of the *noblesse*, through this necessity, with a persistence that strikes our industrialized sense as puerile. Democratic as France is, she is still as feudal, as provincial in these respects, as oligarchical or despotic societies are in others. Material as the community is in many ways, in these it is still steeped in the antiquated ideal of that age of chivalry whose very existence we have arrived at doubting. The truculence of Richelieu's time has been softened, but a statesman is still at the mercy of a *spadassin*, if the latter conceives his "honor" wounded in the course of parliamentary polemics. The sentiment which sustains the soldier against the *avocat* is

wide-spread, and does not differ greatly, except in refinement, from the similar provincialism of our Southern fire-eaters.

French provincialism, however, is exhibited rather in a restricted field of knowledge than in a narrow attitude of mind. It proceeds from ignorance rather than prejudice. Unlike the provincialism of any other people, it is thoroughly open-minded. It is traditional rather than perverse. It is not arrogant but limited—not so much sceptical of foreign merit as conscious of its own. Its development has taken place amid competitive, rather than isolated, conditions, and it shows the mark of the continental struggle instead of insular evolution; its conceit is derived from a too exclusive contemplation of French accomplishments, not from that vague and sentimental exaggeration with which unchecked emotion accentuates self-respect. Its view of the universe is conspicuously incomplete, but so far as it goes its vision is admirably undistorted. In a word, even French provincialism is remarkably candid and rational. It seems for this reason particularly crass to us, because its exhibition is marked by so much sense and so little sentiment, because a lack of emotional delicacy leads to bald and, so to speak, scientific, statement of French merits and attainments. We could sympathize much more readily with pure brag. The absence of buncombe is distinctly disagreeable to us. The palpable sincerity of its air of placid exactitude we find difficult to support. We could forgive it anything more readily than its frank composure. The story of the London cockney who found the French a singular people because they called “bread” *pain*, and replied to a comrade, who observed that calling *pain* “bread” was just as singular, “Oh, well, you know it *is* bread,” illustrates rather the French than the Anglo-Saxon order of provincialism. The Englishman would be preoccupied with the contemptible character of the bread itself. The reason why the Germans are such good linguists, says the French Calino, is because “they already know one foreign language.” His English correlative esteems foreign languages “lingo.” A young and observant Methodist clergyman whom I once saw in Rome (whither he had been sent by his Connecticut congregation in search of health and recreation) was evidently getting none of either because, in the presence of Raphael and Michael Angelo, he was perpetually and painfully reminding himself, as well as others, that “a fine action is finer than a fine picture,” and that the Italians were so contemptible a people as to make it natural to infer from their distinction in them something particularly debas-

ing in the influence of the fine arts. It would be hard to find a French priest in our day thus perplexed and tormented by the fascination of pure oppugnation, and well-nigh impossible to encounter a Frenchman of any kind so persuaded that to differ morally from himself was *ipso facto* witness of degradation. The travelling Frenchman rarely exhibits this pedantic order of contempt for the foreign phenomena with which he comes in contact. He often misconceives and misinterprets them most absurdly, and the serenity of his superiority on such occasions has, first and last, afforded a good deal of amusement. The newspaper letters of the French correspondents are sometimes as good reading on account of the picturesqueness of their blunders as for any other reason. The conceit is colossal. But it arises from ignorance and misconception, from a certain helplessness in the presence of what is unfamiliar that fairly paralyzes even Gallic curiosity, and throws the victim back on his own nation's eminence, with whose justification he is much more at home. It is never combined with feeling, and generally contents itself with such comparisons as observation suggests. Our pedants, on the other hand, are constantly occupied with inferences of the most fundamental nature drawn from the most trivial circumstances. In the case of the travelling Briton, the view of novel objects seems actually to distil dislike. Encountering abroad, for example, a strange costume, the Frenchman finds it in bad taste, the Englishman conceives a contempt for the wearer. Both positions are equally unwarrantable, very likely, but it is clear that the provincialism of the latter only is pedantic. We are all familiar with the budget of opinions about foreigners with which our kindest and gentlest travellers return from Europe: the filth of Italy, the stupidity of the Germans, the insincerity of the French, the ridiculousness of the English, the atrocity of the Spanish *cuisine*, their ultra-radical conviction of American superiority in all these instances being based on the simple fact of difference. No French traveller looks at foreign phenomena in this way, and though his conviction of French superiority may be as unsound at bottom, yet, so far as he is concerned, it is more intelligent, less exclusively sentimental, as well as less uncharitable—one is tempted to add, less unchristian.

An explanation is that the French provincial spirit, like other French traits, is thoroughly impersonal. The individual, everywhere subordinated to the State and the community, appears himself curiously unrelated to the very object of his characteristic adoration. Personally speaking, his provincialism is impartial. He does not ad-

mire France because she is his country. His complacency with himself proceeds from the circumstance that he is a Frenchman ; which is distinctly what he is first, being a man afterward. And his pride in France by no means proceeds from her production of such men as he and his fellows, but from what France, composed of his fellows and himself, accomplishes and represents. One never hears the Frenchman boast of the character and quality of his compatriots, as Englishmen and ourselves do. He is thinking about France, about her different *gloires*, about her position at the head of civilization. His country is to him an entity, a concrete and organic force, with whose work in the world he is extremely proud to be natively associated, without at the same time being very acutely conscious of contributing thereto or sharing the responsibility therefor. He is, accordingly, a marvel of candor in discussions relating to France, of which in detail he is an unsparing and acute critic. One wonders often at his admissions, which seem drastic, not to say fundamental. We forget that he always has France in reserve—that organic conception which every Frenchman holds so firmly, owing to the closeness of texture in the national life since the nation's birth. In discussions of this kind his attitude is very well expressed by a fine *mot* of the Duc d'Aumale, who, during the Bazaine trial, when the inculpated marshal exclaimed, in justification of his treason, that there was no longer any government left, any order, any authority to obey, said, "*Il y avait encore la France, monsieur !*" The national life of England has been nearly as long and no doubt as glorious as that of France ; but, owing to its looseness of texture, to the incomplete way in which it has absorbed the individual, the individual himself seems to make its dignity and eminence subjects of constant concern. And so much personal emotion is in his case associated with this preoccupation, that nowhere more conspicuously than in his Chauvinism does he illustrate the disposition of Doctor Johnson, "who," says Emerson, "a doctor in the schools, would jump out of his syllogism the instant his major proposition was in danger, to save that at all hazards." Similarly with ourselves. In national criticism the Frenchman, on the other hand, never thinks his major proposition in the least danger. This perhaps argues an intenser national conceit, a more explicit provincialism, but it permits a certain syllogistic freedom which an Anglo-Saxon can only envy. Mr. Arnold notes this characteristic as common to the continentals generally in his inimitable essay entitled "My Countrymen."

"It makes me blush," he says, "to think how I winced under what the foreigners said of England; how I longed to be able to answer it; how I rejoiced at hearing from the English press that there was nothing at all in it, when I see the noble frankness with which these foreigners judge themselves." But I think this frankness is especially characteristic of the French, and it is, from our point of view, not a little singular that it should be accompanied by the most intense Chauvinism. "Modesty is doubt," says Balzac, and the French thus judge themselves so frankly, very likely, because they are lacking in that modesty which the screaming of our eagle and the roar of the British lion attest as an Anglo-Saxon trait. At all events, the French, with their excessively rational way of looking at things, esteem modesty a defect rather than a quality, both in nations and individuals, and rarely use the word except in the enumeration of feminine charms, or in the extended sense of "unpretentiousness"—as, for example, a modest *savant*.

And it is to be remarked that the French have a particular justification for their ignorance of foreign national worth and accomplishment which people of other countries are without. On principles which they comprehend, that is to say, such principles as State action, organic development, scientific study of special problems, coöperation, and centralization—every principle, in fact, in accordance with which the common activities of an entire nation are to be directed—France presents as a nation a far more definite and concrete figure than any other. Englishmen, Italians, Americans may excel in a hundred ways, but they are not excellences to which England, Italy, America concretely contribute as nations. In the way of direct national accomplishment, the work of France is certainly more palpable than that of other nations. We build, for example, an astonishing number of miles of railway every year, but what we mean by "America" is no more associated with it than it is with the levying of a 30% duty on foreign art. M. de Lesseps' success or failure is, on the other hand, intimately and directly French. It is by no means altogether because French national accomplishment is almost always a government affair, whereas we make "private enterprise" the great protagonist of our national drama. It is because in France the Government is in all matters of this kind so thoroughly representative, so wholly a popular agent. The result is that "France" is far more real to a Frenchman's intelligence than "America" is to ours, however much our subjective sentiment may atone for the lack of na-

tional palpability. Of "private enterprise," of the attainment of magnificent results through pure sentiment, through a loose social organization, through a consistent inconsistency, the Frenchman has no notion. These are principles of which he does not comprehend the workings. But, as I say, the results of those principles whose workings he does comprehend are far more considerable in France than elsewhere. In the line of social and political problems whose solution depends upon the conscious and precise regulation, ordering, and development of an entire society, French experimentation has, in variety, scope, and thorough-going audacity, been so far in excess of that of other modern peoples that it seems to him idle to examine the history of the latter. Since the Revolution and the adoption of the Code Napoléon, for instance, the phenomena marking the gradual rise of the English democracy naturally seem to him interesting mainly from a humanitarian point of view, and only indirectly instructive. And as for studying the details of our social system, to take another popular example, whereby American relations between men and women are secured, he necessarily feels that this would be rather curious than profitable to him, because of his conviction that these relations, if they are what our admirers maintain, are owing more to the favor of Heaven than to that human ordering upon which his own society must inevitably and exclusively continue to depend.

In fine, the peculiarity of the French provincial spirit is that, for the most part, its manifestations are national and not individual. Toward other nations abstractly, and toward the people of other nations in the concrete, it is exhibited in very nearly the proportion in which it is aroused by the exclusive contemplation and knowledge of France itself. But its reaction upon the individual in his own environment is scarcely apparent. Where neither France nor the foreigner is directly in question, *unprovincial* is precisely the epithet for the Frenchman's mental attitude and processes. The Frenchman makes so much of his position as a member of a society whose texture is extremely close; he employs his relations to his surroundings in such constant and salutary fashion, that personally he avoids nearly every mark of the provincial spirit. He has little of its narrowness, its self-concentration, its unremittent experimentation, its confusion of relative with absolute values. It is, for example, especially a mark of the provincial spirit to take one's self too seriously. To take one's self too seriously is the distinguishing trait at once of the pedant and the amateur—the person who attaches an excessive

importance to trifles, and the person who attacks lightly matters of great dignity and difficulty; two archetypes, one may say, of the provincialism illustrated by Anglo-Saxons. At home, certainly, however he may appear abroad, the Frenchman takes himself far less seriously than the Englishman or the American is apt to do under sufficient provocation, unrestrained as both are by either the dread or the danger of that ridicule which operates with such salutary universality in France. Beside the pedant and the amateur, the *fat* is conspicuously a cosmopolitan, or, at least, a cockney product. The *badaud* himself is a very catholic-minded character; he sinks himself in his surroundings. Note the essential difference, from the point of view of provincialism, between him and the prig—especially that latest and least attractive variety of the species by which at present our own society is infested, and from which France is free—the prig bent on self-improvement. An environment whose cosmopolitanism is a pervasive force, instead of mainly a mere lack of positive nationality, cannot develop a being of whom it is the cardinal characteristic that his constant discipline and effort are exercised uniformly at the expense of others. So perfectly are the amateur and the pedant fused in him that the most trivial conversation is in his eyes an opportunity; he takes notes for self-education on the most sacred and solemn occasions; at dinner-parties he is studying etiquette, at the whist-table he is improving his game, at church he is exercising his memory, in a neighbor's house or a picture gallery, his taste; he has no intimacy too great for him to employ in practising his voice, his gestures, his carriage, his demeanor—his whole environment, in fact, animate and inanimate, friend and foe, he remorselessly sacrifices to his implacable purpose of educating himself, whatever may happen. And that he may advance in virtue as in wisdom he lets slip no opportunity of educating others. No description, indeed, of a society which lacks him can be more vivid and positive to a society which possesses him than the mention of his absence. One infers at once in such a society the ease and free play of the faculties, the large, humorous, and tolerant view of one's self and others, the leisure, the calm, the healthful and effortless vivacity, the confidence in one's own perceptions and in the intelligence of one's neighbors—characteristics which, very likely, have in turn their weak side, but which indicate the urban, the metropolitan, the mundane attitude of a community wherein men rub against and polish each other, and exclude the village or conventual ideal of

laborious effort, careless of the present, forgetful of the past, its ardent gaze fixed on a vague recompense in an indefinite future to the successful contestant in a rigorous competitive examination.

Religion, too, has contributed as largely in France to the absence of the provincial spirit as it has furthered the social instinct by tending to social concert and social expansion. Not only, that is to say, has religion in France exercised the influence peculiar to Catholicism, but Catholicism has there been without a rival. Protestantism exists. The Reformed Church is indeed supported by the State on a perfectly proportionate equality with Catholicism, but the blood of the martyrs has not been its seed, and it does not really count. The leading Paris newspaper is Protestant; many of the leading men are of Huguenot descent and cherish Protestant traditions. But these themselves discuss every question from a Catholic stand-point, and it never occurs to them that society is not homogeneously Catholic. Catherine de Medicis is in this respect as much the creator of modern France as Henry VIII. is of modern England or Philip II. of modern Spain. I am so far from content with her work that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew seems to me the greatest misfortune that has ever befallen France. Compared with it the Prussian invasion of 1870 and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine seem insignificant; when we think of the France of Coligny's time and its potentialities, the France of to-day, even post-revolutionary France, is, in certain directions, a disappointment. But it is not to be denied that to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes are attributable the religious homogeneousness of French society, and, consequently, its composure, its serenity, its absence of the provincial spirit in one of the profoundest, most sacred, and most influential of human concerns.

The humanizing effect of unity in religion is one of those phenomena which have only to be mentioned to be immediately appreciated. The attitude of superstition itself is really far less provincial than the attitude of scepticism. The one is traditional and social in its nature, the other of necessity solitary and personal. Even superstition implies a placid and serene sympathy between its victim and his environment. Sophocles, Virgil, Raphael, Shakespeare, Erasmus, Goethe—how distinct is the urbanity, the felicity of rounded and complete harmony which the mere mention of these names reminds us they illustrate in common! How different it is from the notion called up by the mention of Luther, Calvin, Bunyan,

Knox, Byron, Carlyle! Apollo is one type and Achilles is quite another. To fight it out for one's self in the sphere of religion! To forge one's own *credo* out of materials painfully selected from the workshops of the ages! Not to feel one's self sustained and supported by human sympathy in the supreme human concern! To assume the objector's attitude, to place one's self at the sceptic's view-point, to particularize laboriously and sift evidence with scrupulous care in a matter so positive, so attractive, and so universal—how can this fail to stimulate in one the provincial temper, the provincial spirit? The social instinct recoils in the face of such a prospect. The tendency of unity is to magnify the worship, of diversity to magnify the philosophy, of religion. How many scores of conscientious and piously-disposed young men at the moment when "choice is brief and yet endless" cut themselves off entirely from the former because they cannot make up their minds clearly as to the latter! Every one's experience has acquainted him with the phenomenon of "truly religious souls" debarred from the communion of saints, not to say impelled toward the communion of sinners, by what Renan calls "the narrow judgments of the frivolous man." The kindred phenomenon resulting from the narrow and frivolous judgments of the truly religious soul itself, is scarcely less frequent. In New England, at any rate, where the old Arian heresy *redivivus* has produced such luxuriant intellectual fruit, it is not an infrequent occurrence to find the anxious seat filled with candidates carefully conning the different "confessions," the mind concentrated on the importance of an intelligent and impartial selection, preliminary to the satisfaction of the soul's highest need. "The experience of many opinions gives to the mind great flexibility and fortifies it in those it believes the best," says Joubert. Nothing can be truer and nothing more just than the high praise that has been given to this remark. But it is surely applicable to philosophy rather than to religion, and if applied to religious philosophy it should be read in conjunction with that other and profoundly spiritual saying of Joubert: "It is not hard to know God, provided one will not force one's self to define him"; or this: "Make truth lovely, and do not try to arm her."

The great word of religion is peace, and controversy is, however practical it may be, indisputably provincial. Controversy has become so characteristic of our sectarianism, it is believed in so sincerely, it is, in effect, so necessary as a protection against the insidiousness of superstition, that one distrusts its universal efficacy at his peril. No

one, failing to see how this must be so, can fail to observe that it is in fact so when he contemplates many of the manifestations of the controversial spirit in which our society abounds. A not infrequent spiritual experience, for example, is this: a person of inbred piety, infinitely attracted by the beauty of holiness, comes in contact with the scientific and scrutinizing spirit of the age. The unity of nature, the universal identity of her undertakings, which, as Thoreau says, are "sure and never fail," make a profound impression on him. He is unable to credit or conceive of their overruling to the end that spiritual truth may be attested by miracles. He pays dearly for his inability. It excludes him from fellowship with spirits a thousand times more akin to his own than he can find outside the doors guarded by the flaming sword of an inflexible *credo*. He begins, nevertheless, to adjust himself to his position. Soon he proceeds to vaunt it, out of sheer self-respect. His heart becomes hardened; his intellect freezes; finally he finds a haven in a society for ethical culture, whose cardinal tenet it is that the Sermon on the Mount is too simple for application to the immensely diversified needs of our complex modern society. He may not have lost his own soul, but he has certainly not gained the whole world, nor any considerable part of it. The world stamps him and his society as essentially provincial, and turns with relief to the fellowship of quarters wherein the beautiful and the good stand in no terror of the tyranny of truth. From this variety of provincialism, at least, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes have done much to spare France, both in her religion and her irreligion.

It would, indeed, be very difficult to persuade a Frenchman visiting America of our good faith in charging him with provincialism in any regard. Every contrast with things French which meets his eye must enforce his sense of our rudimentary and undeveloped condition. He could not fail to find our theatres, some of our churches, our conception of his interest in cemeteries and penal institutions, the transparent dresses of our women on undress, and their high-necked "gowns" on dress occasions, our diversified tastes in the matter of feminine bonnets and masculine beards, our bathing costumes and manners, our lack of police efficiency, our *cuisine*, the attire and conduct of that immense class among us in whom gentility is uneasily nascent, and our categorical and serious defence of these and scores of other peculiarities, exactly to be characterized by the epithet provincial. He would probably be unabashed

even by our "men of general information"—a product in which, perhaps, we may defy competition. He would certainly maintain that in France there are more people who have an academic and critical knowledge of "life" and character, people whose judgments of the innumerable and immensely varied phenomena of life and character, of art and science, are independent without being capricious. "The range within which these judgments are restricted seems limited to you," he would assert, "mainly, perhaps, because yours is extended into the region of triviality. Prices of every sort from pictures to mess pork, railway time-tables, tinkering, horse and dog lore, stitches, sports, the mysteries of plumbing, old furniture, pottery marks, in fact, all that desultory and fragmentary 'information' with which your as yet unsystematized struggle with nature seems to encrust so many among you, is what, on the contrary, we regard as really limited and limiting. And, in general, a crystallized and highly developed community seems provincial to the nomad and the adventurer, whether he be a Bedouin or a Wall Street broker, because it has traditions, local pride, public spirit, and organic relations; because, great or small, it is and stands for something at once definite and complex, and is not merely a part of the amorphous universe where nothing is settled, where there is no code to systematize the general scramble, and where industry and enterprise thrive at a tremendous cost to the *ensemble*, and substitute a startling social *chiaro-oscuro* for the just pictorial values of civilization. Paris is 'provincial' in the same way as your oldest and maturest city is. Like Boston, it seems 'provincial' to the New Yorker and the Chicagoan because it is so completely organic, because it is so distinctly a community instead of being merely a piece broken off the wide, wide world. The desert of Sahara is not 'provincial'; as Balzac said, 'It is nothing and yet everything, for God is there and man is not!' You Americans strike us as unprovincial, I may observe, mainly in this Sahara sense."

At the same time, we may legitimately rejoin, the catholic and cosmopolitan spirit which leads Emerson to find not provincialism but "characteristic nationality" in Madame de Staël's peremptory "Conversation, like talent, exists only in France," is probably rarer in France than in an environment where there is, if not more of God, at any rate less of man.

W. C. BROWNELL.

ETHICS AND ECONOMICS.

IN the social concussions and agitations now taking place, some changes are certain to be made not only in industrial methods but also in political and economic theories. When the facts of life change, the theories must somehow manage to reconstruct themselves accordingly. Filmer's dogma of the divine right of kings was obliged to make way as constitutional government found firmer footing in England. The notion that government has only police functions cannot be accepted as the popular philosophy, when the people, with substantial unanimity, are all the while requiring the Government to assume that other function, so clearly defined in our Constitution as the promotion of the general welfare. Theologians are always averse to innovations in doctrine; but the history of theology proves that such changes are continually taking place. The teachers of social science, also, appear to be somewhat unwilling to harbor new theories; but the social order is quite as changeable as the spiritual order; and the need of the frequent restatement of social laws is tolerably evident.

One of the facts that is coming into clearer light is the close relation of ethics and economics. This is no new discovery. In former times the organic unity of the two departments of knowledge was recognized; the first great English economist was a teacher of moral science, and believed himself to be teaching, in a surreptitious manner, not only morals but religion also, when he was expounding the economic laws. In fact the theological assumptions and inferences of the Smithian economy greatly aided in giving it currency. Doubtless these assumptions and inferences were illegitimate; but the fact remains that the father of English political economy believed that his science was vitally related to the science of conduct. Comte always insisted that economics could not be profitably studied apart from other topics of human concernment; that human welfare was one individual whole, and must be treated synthetically, not analytically. Comte's teaching on this subject has been disputed by many of the later economists. Even John Stuart Mill, who was indebted to Comte for many stimu-

lating suggestions, joins issue here with the great positivist. He says :

“ Notwithstanding the universal consensus of the social phenomena, whereby nothing which takes place in any part of the operation of society is without its show of influence on every other part ; and notwithstanding the paramount ascendancy which the general state of civilization and social progress in any given society must here exercise over all the partial and subordinate phenomena ; it is not the less true that different species of social facts are, in the main, dependent immediately and in the first resort on different kinds of causes, and, therefore, not only may with advantage, but must be studied apart, just as in the natural body we study separately the physiology and pathology of each of the principal organs and tissues, though every one is acted on by the state of all the others, and though the peculiar conditions and general health of the organism coöperate with, and often predominate over, the local causes in determining the state of any particular organ.”

If there were separate “ organs ” or “ tissues ” in the human nature specially devoted to the production and the use of wealth, such an illustration would be more pertinent. If man had a money-getting organ, as he has an organ of vision, there might be some excuse for a class of economists who, for the purpose of the science, should isolate his money-getting and money-using faculties from all his other forces and interests, and study them apart. But this does not seem to represent the case. The industrial powers and the economical interests of human beings constitute a great department of human life by no means distinct from the other departments, but so intimately and vitally related to them all that it cannot be usefully studied apart from them. Suppose that some physiologist should undertake to investigate and expound the phenomena of animal locomotion by confining himself to the muscular and osseous systems, and wholly neglecting all the facts of nerve-stimulation ; would his knowledge of the subject be complete ? Suppose that another should set out to explain the circulatory system without any reference to the respiratory system ! The scientific physiologist does not ignore these vital inter-relations of the human economy ; he does not imagine that any interests of “ science ” require him to do so. Now the phenomena of the economic order can be no more adequately discussed apart from the phenomena of the physical, the intellectual, and the moral realms, than animal locomotion can be adequately studied without reference to the neural forces. The production of wealth depends on the physical powers of the laborer ; on his intelligence ; on his temper ; on the social estimation in which he is held ; on the various prospects and incitements set before him ; on a thousand

subtle but powerful influences wholly outside of what is usually defined as the economic motive. Even if the economic man could be scientifically dissected out of the human nature, as an eye may be dissected from the head, it would still be necessary to study the social welfare of man in its completeness, in order that we might rightly understand and wisely treat economical questions. The oculist makes the eye his specialty, but he needs to know the human physiology comprehensively; the condition of the other organs constantly affects the eyes; and morbid conditions of the eyes may affect the whole nervous system. The quack oculist contents himself with studying the eye; the scientific oculist recognizes the need of a liberal medical education. His diagnosis is never complete until he knows all he can learn about the general health of his patient.

The relation between ethics and economics is not less vital than that between medicine and morals. Every sensible clergyman recognizes the fact that many of the moral and spiritual maladies with which he has to deal arise from morbid conditions of the body; and many physicians are aware that not a few of the ills that flesh is heir to have their parentage in minds diseased. All but thorough-going materialists see and confess this reciprocal relation of mental states and bodily conditions. Trouble that is purely ideal or sentimental makes sad inroads upon the human frame; physical habits weaken and efface the mental and moral powers. The germs of crime are in dyspepsia, and many a physical disorder is due to a lie. This does not imply that no distinction is to be made between the medical and the clerical professions, or that the men of each profession must be experts in the department of the other; but it does show that the fact of their close sympathy should be clearly recognized, and that the border-lands should be well explored by students and practitioners of both professions. The clergyman is not called to usurp the doctor's province, nor to meddle with his practice; but if he does not know that many spiritual disturbances have their spring in physical derangements, he is not fit to minister to minds diseased. The doctor may not feel called to preach to his patients; but if he has not discovered that there are many diseases which are not due to physical causes, and which drugs cannot cure, he still lacks wisdom. All modern psychologists study physiology patiently and profoundly; it is not supposed that mental phenomena can be adequately treated without some knowledge of the physical conditions in connection with which

they always appear. Now ethics is the soul of sociology, as economics is its body; and the relation of this body to this soul is as intimate as that of the physical to the spiritual nature of man. Between them a constant series of reciprocal actions is taking place; and what Lotze says of the two parts of man's nature is true of these related provinces of social life: "By a fine-spun tissue of numberless relations are both most admirably fitted to work on each other's states and needs. For each action and reaction passing between them is a fibre of that which forms their mutual bond." *

It is quite as easy to show how ethical causes produce economical effects, and vice-versa, as it is to show the causal relation between the bodily and the mental experiences of men. Do not the vices of the laboring classes affect the productive industries of the nation? Is not the deterioration of the labor-force, through poverty and insufficient nutriment, almost always accompanied by moral degradation? Is not the loss of stamina often suffered by masses of laborers during seasons of industrial depression a tremendous fact of the moral, as well as of the economic realm? Suppose that the deduction of Cairnes be true (I do not assume it), that under a wage-system with unrestricted competition as the regulative principle, the share of the laborer in the product of his labor constantly tends to decrease: if that fact were known to the laborers, would it not tend to produce discontent and discouragement among them, begetting vice and pauperism? And would not this degradation of the laborer react upon production, lessening its amount and depreciating its quality? Even so ethereal a force as courtesy has its economic effects. The employer who always treats his workmen with a genuine politeness, who manifests a sincere interest in their welfare by kindly speech and sympathetic treatment, finds his profit in such friendliness; he is apt to get from them a more loyal and efficient service, and, in the time of industrial conflicts, to find them working on in peace while others round about them are in insurrection against their employers. It is not rare, even in these tempestuous times, to hear workmen speak with affectionate respect of a master as "a white man,"—"a good man to work for." Temper is a great matter in a factory as well as in a cart. Good will inspires good will, and good will is one of the prime constituents of good work.

President Walker has shown,† by a most impressive demonstration, that the sympathy of the community with the laborer tends to

* *Microcosmus*, Book III., Chap. I.

† *The Wages Question*, p. 362.

increase his share in the product of his industry. Sympathy with the laborer is a purely moral force; if it influences the distribution of the product of industry, it has an economic effect. The same writer has also shown that even so impersonal an interest as that of rent is powerfully affected by public opinion; that one strong reason why rents in England, for example, have not risen to the extreme and cruel altitudes that they have reached in Ireland is due to the constant restraint upon the landlords of the moral sentiment of the vicinage. And he quotes from Prof. Thorold Rogers the statement that the English tenant "is virtually protected by *the disreputable publicity* which would be given to a sudden eviction, or a dishonest appropriation of the tenant's improvements."

Most of what I have said bears upon the relation of the moral sentiments and habits of the people to the production of wealth. This is the department of political economy in which ethical causes are least prominent. The last illustration, however, takes us into the field of distribution, and here the attempt to separate morals from economics is extremely difficult. Indeed the economists themselves—even those who most strenuously protest against the fellowship of the two sciences—are often found diligently preaching about what ought and ought not to be done in all this field. The objection to combinations of laborers, as urged by the old-fashioned economists, rested largely on moral grounds. If they tried to show that such combinations could not render the distribution of the product any more equitable, and could only tend to the crippling of production, they also placed much stress upon the effect of such combinations in weakening the laborer's self-reliance, and destroying his individuality. The fact that freedom is the necessary condition of the most efficient production and the most equitable distribution of wealth, could not be separated in their minds from the fact that freedom is also the necessary condition of the development of manhood. Theoretically the two considerations might be kept apart, but practically they have not been, and we shall presently see why they were not and should not be; why the economists were more scientific in their practice than in their theory. On the other hand, the advocates of labor organization also rest their plea largely on moral grounds, contending that freedom is indeed the condition of human welfare, and that the laborer dealing single handed with the rich employer or the great corporation possesses only a nominal freedom; that by the power of concentrated wealth he is reduced to practical

servitude ; that it is only in strong combinations of laborers that the freedom of labor is realized. I have no doubt, for one, that there is truth in both contentions. The individualistic régime, with free contract and competition, works well up to a certain point, because it tends to make men independent and self-reliant ; nevertheless, individualism, unchecked by the moral forces, inevitably results in those stupendous aggregations of material power which tend to the degradation and enslavement of the laborer. On the other hand, to prevent this degradation and enslavement, and to secure to the working-man a measure of liberty, strong organizations of working-men are necessary ; but these very organizations have a tendency to suppress individuality, to substitute mob law for independent judgment, and to protect the shiftless and the unskilful from the natural penalties of their inefficiency. Up to the point at which it ceases to develop the character of the individual, each of these systems is good ; beyond that point, it is evil. The need of protecting the individual against the tyranny of the competitive régime, and not less against the tyranny of incipient socialism, is obvious enough to every philanthropist. That this can only be done by the energetic use of moral forces, is also apparent. A community of sober and intelligent workmen will know how to combine for their own protection, and how to protect themselves against the tyranny of their own combinations.

This discussion suggests that the vital point of the labor question is the character of the laborer. The deepest test of every industrial system is its effect upon the manhood of the people who do the work. Does it make them strong, free, hopeful, self-reliant ? If so, it is a good system. Does it make them weak, dependent, restless ? If so, it is a system that needs mending.

But it will be said that all this is outside the realm of economics ; that it belongs to the province of the statesman or the moralist, but not to that of the economist. I have already suggested that, as a matter of fact, the economists have not kept out of this field ; that, although sometimes protesting that they had no business in it, they have, nevertheless, made themselves very much at home in it. That their protests are mistaken and their practice rational will appear, when we consider what is the field of political economy, and what is the supreme end which, as a practical study, it must always keep in view. Under the reasonings and investigations of the old economists this postulate seems to lie—*that the increase of the national*

wealth is desirable. Is this postulate true without qualification? What do we mean by it? How about the element of time? Are we thinking of the present or of the future? Is that present increase of national wealth desirable which shall lay a foundation for national want in the next year or the next century? Must not the economist take into the account the natural good of the generations following, as well as of the present generation?

And there is a deeper question still: Is the increase of the national wealth an intrinsic good? Is it an infallible sign of progress, if the tables of the census show that the people are richer at the end of each succeeding decade? Might not the sum total of the wealth of the nation be greatly increasing, while large sections of the population were sinking into deeper and deeper want and misery? History has some impressive testimony to offer on this point. Rome was growing rich very fast in the day when only about two thousand proprietors owned the world, and the rest of mankind were slaves and paupers. The wise economist wishes to know, therefore, not only that the national wealth is increasing, but also how it is distributed. This question of the general distribution of the national wealth concerns him quite as deeply as the question of its aggregate amount, because he knows that a state of society in which wealth is as unequally distributed as it was in Rome in the days of the New Monarchy cannot long endure. And the conclusion to which every student of economics who looks beneath the surface must speedily come is that which has been so sharply stated by one of the most thoughtful of recent economists:

"The maintenance of life, the maintenance of as noble a life as may be, is the function of wealth; only the miser seeks wealth for the mere satisfaction of possessing it, that is, as an end in itself, for its own sake. *Wealth, whether sought by nations or by individuals, is a mediate end*, and the final end which it is meant to subserve is the maintenance of life; not merely the maintenance of existence, but the maintenance of a life that is undoubtedly worth living."*

The postulate of the old economy is not, then, true without qualification. The increase of the national wealth is not in itself desirable; it is only desirable when it tends to the maintenance of the national life, to the promotion of the national welfare. The increase of the aggregate wealth of the people is a mediate end, and not an ultimate end. The ultimate end is the national well-being. And this certainly admits no separation of the people into contrasted

* *Politics and Economics*, by W. Cunningham, p. 114.

classes—a plutocracy above and a proletariat below; it involves a wide diffusion of property, and knowledge, and power; it implies that the working-classes, in particular, are healthy, and hopeful, and contented. Thinking only of the material well-being of the nation, it is evident, to use the words of Mr. Cunningham, “that a vigorous, industrial population is the true source of wealth.” “Of course,” the same writer goes on, “there are many traits which must be combined, if the population is to have this character in a high degree. Labor of any sort involves toil, and for toil physical health is necessary; the more important kinds of work involve skill, and technical training as well as mental development are both highly requisite; and if the work is to be well done, and the wares produced thoroughly good, there must be much honesty and high character among the workers, so that the goods shall be made to last, and not merely to look well. Health, skill, and moral character are elements which are necessary in the population, if the national life is to be effectively sustained and prolonged.” *

This, then, is the end which the political economist must keep in view. He is studying the laws of the production, the distribution, and the consumption of wealth; and he must never lose sight of the relation which these processes bear to the life of the nation. The one supreme interest with him must be “the continual maintenance of the national stock, by seeking the development of the productive power of the nation, whether in its inhabitants or in its physical resources.” This is really the truth that the new political economy has found, and is bound to emphasize. It refuses to take the miser’s view of material wealth; it insists that the life of a nation, just as the life of a man, does not consist in *the abundance of the things* that it possesses. Thus it becomes in the deepest sense an ethical science. It is not possible to consider this broader question of the maintenance of the nation’s life without constant reference to moral laws and motives.

“We need a new Adam Smith, or another Hume,” says President Walker, “to write the economics of consumption, in which would be found the real dynamics of wealth; to trace to their effects upon production the forces that are set in motion by the uses made of wealth; to show how certain forms of consumption clear the mind, strengthen the hand, and elevate the aims of the individual economic agent, while promoting that social order and mutual confidence which are favorable conditions for the complete development and harmonious action of the industrial system; how other forms of consumption debase and debauch man as an economic

* *Politics and Economics*, by W. Cunningham, p. 115.

agent, and introduce disorder and waste into the complicated mechanism of the productive agencies. Here is the opportunity for some great moral philosopher, confining himself strictly to the economical effects of these causes, denying himself all regard to purely ethical, political, or theological considerations, to write what shall be the most important chapter of political economy, now, alas, almost a blank." *

With the general drift of this passage I heartily agree, but some of the qualifying terms are not quite clear to me. The fact that political economy is waiting to have its most important chapter written by some great moral philosopher, is good proof that ethics and economics are near relations. The truth which this philosopher is to emphasize is that moral causes have economic effects. He is to show the absolute impossibility of separating these two realms. Doctor Walker himself has done some excellent work along this line. To *purely* ethical considerations he will, of course, deny himself all regard, because the very fact that he is to discuss is the blending of ethical with economical considerations. It is a good service to which he is summoned; let him stand not on the order of his coming. When his work shall have been completed, it will be evident that the divorce which some have sought to procure between ethics and economics is the violent and unnatural putting asunder of what God has joined together.

In due time it may appear that the science which makes wealth an ultimate and not a mediate end, like the trade or the industry which takes the same view, is perverted and accursed by that very fact. A dismal science it is, and forever will be. There is no profit to the intellect or the morals of the people in a study which ignores this vital distinction. Political economy ought to be the most liberalizing and the most stimulating of all studies; it ought to awaken the enthusiasm and arouse the generous aspirations of its students, and it will not fail to do so when it makes the nation's life and not the nation's purse the supreme object of its care.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

**Political Economy*, p. 322.

AN EPISODE IN CENTRAL AMERICAN HISTORY.

THE rapid progress of Guatemala during the last twelve years, and its advancement toward a modern standard of civilization, have both been due to the energy and determination of one man, the late José Rufino Barrios. The prevailing opinion of President Barrios is that he was a brutal ruffian; but in estimating his true character the good he accomplished should be considered as well as the evil. Until the history of Central America shall be written years hence, when the mind can reflect calmly and impartially upon the scenes of this decade, when public benefits can be accurately measured with individual errors, and the strides of progress in material development can be justly estimated, his true character will not be understood or appreciated, even by his own countrymen. Like all vigorous and progressive men, like all men of strong character and forcible measures, he had bitter, vindictive enemies. For these there was nothing too harsh to say of him, living or dead, no cruelties too barbarous to accuse him of, no revenge too severe to visit upon him or his memory. But, on the other hand, people who did not cherish a spirit of revenge, who had no political ambition and no schemes to be disconcerted, who are interested in the development of Central America, and are enjoying the benefits of the progress Guatemala has made, regard Barrios as the best friend, the ablest leader, the wisest ruler his country ever had, and sincerely wish his life could have been prolonged and his power extended over the entire continent. They are willing to concede to him not only honorable motives, but the worthy ambition of trying to lift his country to a level with the most advanced nations of the earth. While he did not furnish a government of the people, by the people, it was a government for the people, provided and administered by a man of remarkable ability, independence, ambition, and extraordinary pride. While his iron hand crushed all opposition and held a power that yielded to nothing, he was, nevertheless, generous to the poor, lenient to those who would submit to him, and ready to do anything to improve the condition of his people or promote their welfare.

That a man of President Barrios's ancestry and early associations

should have brought that republic to the condition in which he left it when he died, is very remarkable. Without education himself, he enacted a law requiring the attendance at school of all children between the ages of eight and fourteen years, and rigorously enforced it. People who refused to obey this law were compelled to pay a heavy fine for the privilege. He established a university at Guatemala City and free schools in every city of the republic; he founded hospitals, asylums, and other institutions of charity with his own means, or supported them by appropriations from the public treasury, and compelled physicians to be educated properly before they were allowed to practice. He punished crime so severely that it was almost unknown; he regulated the sale of liquors, so that a drunken man was never seen upon the streets; he enforced the observance of the Sabbath by closing the stores and market-places, which in other Spanish-American republics are always open, and was active for the material as for the moral welfare of the people. During the twelve years he was in power the country made greater progress, and the citizens enjoyed greater prosperity, than during any period of all the three centuries and a half of its previous history.

After the achievement of independence by the Central American colonies the priests ruled the country. Their excesses awakened a spirit of opposition which finally culminated in a revolution. The famous Morazan became dictator, and might have been successful but for a decree he issued abolishing the convents and monasteries, and confiscating the entire property of the Church. This was in 1843. Led by the priests, the people rose in rebellion; but Morazan retained his power until an unknown man, tall, dark, and blood-thirsty, came out of the mountains—an Indian without a name, who could neither read nor write, whose occupation had been that of a swine-herd, like Pizarro, who had graduated into the profession of a bandit, and led a gang of murderous outlaws in the mountains. Urged by a greed for plunder, this remarkable man, Rafael Carera, came from his stronghold and joined the Church party in their war against the Government. His successes as a guerrilla were so great that what had been a small, independent band became the main army of the opposition; and he led a horde of disorganized plunderers toward the capital. The priests called him "the Chosen of God," and attributed to him the divinely inspired mission of restoring the Church to power. The churchmen rushed to his standard, to fight under the command of a savage whose only motive was plunder.

He drove Morazan into Costa Rica, and proclaimed himself dictator. The Church party were amazed at the arrogance of the bandit, but had to submit, and he soon developed into a full-fledged tyrant, ruling over Guatemala for a period of thirty years.

When Carera died there was no man to take his place, and the Church party began to decay. The Liberals gathered force and began a revolution. In their ranks was an obscure young man from the borders of Mexico; from a valley which produced Juarez, the liberator of Mexico, Diaz, the President of that republic, and other famous men. This youth, Rufino Barrios, began to show military skill and force of character, and, when the Church party was overthrown and the Liberal leader was proclaimed President, he became the general of the army. He soon resigned, however, and returned to his coffee plantation on the borders of Mexico. But the revival of the Church party shortly after caused him to return to military life, and on the death of the Liberal President, in 1873, he was chosen his successor.

From that date until 1885 Barrios was the one foremost man in Guatemala. He began his career by adopting the policy Morazan had failed to enforce. He expelled the monks and nuns from the country, confiscated the Church property, robbed the priests of their power, and, like Juarez in Mexico, liberated the people from a servitude under which they had suffered since the original settlement of the colonies. Then he visited the United States and Europe to study the science of government; sent men abroad to be educated at government expense, and upon their return gave them positions under him. He offered the most generous inducements to immigrants, and the country filled up with agricultural settlers, merchants, and mechanics. As the population increased, the country began to grow in prosperity with the development of its natural resources, and there was a "boom" in Guatemala the like of which had not been known there before. Roadways were constructed from the sea-coast to the interior, so that produce could be brought to market; diligence lines were established at government expense; liberal railroad contracts were made, telegraph lines were erected, and modern facilities for trade and travel were introduced. The credit of the country was restored by a careful readjustment of its finances, and encouragement from the Government brought in a large amount of European capital—so that to-day, while the other Central American States are still in the condition they were one hundred years

ago, or have retrograded, Guatemala has stepped to the front, rich, powerful, progressive, and, but for the peculiar appearance of the houses, the language of the people, and the customs they have inherited from their ancestors, little different from the new States of our own great West.

Having overthrown the religion in which the people had been reared, President Barrios recognized the necessity of providing some better substitute. He, therefore, through the British Minister, invited the Established Church of England to send missionaries to Guatemala; but, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, it was not considered advisable to commence work at that time, and the opportunity was neglected. In 1883, however, on a visit to New York, he had conferences with the officers of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, which resulted in diverting the Rev. John C. Hill, of Chicago, who was *en route* to China, into this field of labor. Mr. Hill, returning with the President to Guatemala, received a cordial welcome, and shared all the attentions given to his distinguished patron; so that the blushing young parson found himself again and again on public platforms with the President of Guatemala leaning upon his shoulder, and introducing him to the people as his friend. This demonstration had its purpose, and resulted precisely as General Barrios intended it should. He meant that the people should know that he had taken the missionary and the cause he represented under the patronage of the Government, and expected them to show the same respect and honor as he bestowed himself. He went still further. He placed Mr. Hill in one of his own houses, and there the school and chapel were opened. He sent his own children to the new Sunday-school, and induced members of his Cabinet to follow his example. He issued a decree to the collectors of customs to admit free of duty all articles which Mr. Hill desired to import, and in every possible manner showed his interest in the success of the work. The Protestant Mission became fashionable, and was known as the "President's pet." The Catholics looked askance at the rapidity with which the breach was widened in the walls they had been nearly four hundred years in erecting, but they dared not utter even a remonstrance against those favored by the potent force behind the military guard. They saw the monks and nuns expelled, the churches sold at public auction for the benefit of the public treasury—and, with a muttered curse against the power by which all these things were done, submitted

servilely to its will for fear of losing even that which they had so far been able to retain.

General Barrios was always dramatic. He was as dramatic in the simplicity and frugality of his private life as he was in the display he was constantly making for the diversion of the people. In striking contrast with the customs of a country where men's garments and manners are the objects of the most fastidious attention, he was careless in his clothing, brusque in his manner, and frank in his declarations. It is said that the Spanish language was framed to conceal thought, but Barrios used none of its honeyed phrases, and had the candor of an American frontiersman. He readily accepted suggestions, but was naturally secretive. He had no confidants, made his own plans without consulting any one, and when he was ready to announce his purposes used language that could not be misunderstood. In disposition he was sympathetic and affectionate, and when he liked a man he showered favors upon him; when he distrusted he was cold and repelling; and when he hated his vengeance was swift and sure. To be detected in an intrigue against his life, or the stability of the Government, which was the same thing, meant death or exile. The last time his assassination was attempted, he pardoned the men whose hands threw the bomb at him, but those who hired them saved their lives by flight from the country. If caught, they would have been shot without trial. He was the most industrious man in Central America: slept little, ate little, and never indulged in the siesta that is as much a part of the daily life of the people as breakfast and dinner. He did everything with a nervous impetuosity, thought rapidly, and acted instantly. The ambition of his life was to reunite the republics of Central America in a confederacy such as existed a few years after the achievement of their independence. The benefits of such a union are apparent to all who understand the political, geographical, and commercial conditions of the continent, and are acknowledged by the thinking men of the five states, but the consummation of the plan is prevented by the ambition of local leaders. Each is willing to join the union if he can be dictator, but none will permit a union with any other man as chief.

Diplomatic negotiations looking to a consolidation of the five Central American republics extended over a period of several years, but were fruitless because of local jealousies. The leading politicians in the several states feared they would lose their prominence and

power, and distrusted Barrios, although he assured them that he was not ambitious to be dictator. He thought he was the right man to carry out the plan, but proposed to retire as soon as it was consummated, in order to permit the people to frame their constitution and elect their executive, promising that he would not be a candidate. As he told the writer shortly after his *coup-d'état*, he desired to retire from public life and reside in the United States, which he considered the paradise of nations. He had already purchased a home and invested money in New York, and was educating his children with a view to residence there.

Sending emissaries into the several states to study public sentiment, he became assured that the time was ripe for the consummation of his plans. He believed that the masses of the people were ready to join in a reunion of the republics, and had the assurance of Zaldívar, the President of San Salvador, and Bográn, the President of Honduras, that they would consent to his temporary dictatorship. He determined upon a *coup-d'état*. Moral suasion had failed, so he decided to try force, with the coöperation of San Salvador and Honduras, which, with Guatemala, represented five-sixths of the population of Central America. He believed he could persuade Nicaragua and Costa Rica to accept a manifest destiny, and join the union.

On the evening of Sunday, February 28, 1885, the aristocracy of Guatemala were gathered as usual at the National Theatre, to witness the performance of *Boccaccio* by a French opera company. In the midst of the play one of the most exciting situations was interrupted by the appearance of a uniformed officer upon the stage, who motioned the performers back from the foot-lights and read Barrios's proclamation declaring himself dictator and supreme commander of all Central America, and calling upon the citizens of the five republics to acknowledge his authority and take the oath of allegiance. The people are accustomed to earthquakes, but no terrestrial commotion ever created so much excitement as the eruption of this political volcano. The actors fled in surprise to their dressing-rooms, while the audience organized into an impromptu mass-meeting to ratify the audacity of their President.

Few eyes were closed that night in Guatemala. Although every one knew that Barrios had long aspired to restore the old union of the republics, no one seemed to be prepared for the *coup-d'état*, and the announcement fell with a force that made the whole country tremble. The next morning, as if by magic, the city seemed

filled with soldiers. Whence they came, or how they had arrived so suddenly, the people did not seem to comprehend; and when the doors of great warehouses opened to disclose large supplies of ammunition and arms, the public eye was distended with amazement. All these preparations had been made so silently and secretly that the surprise was complete. But for three or four years Barrios had been preparing for this day, and his plans had been laid with a success that challenged even his own admiration. He had ordered all the soldiers in the republic to be at Guatemala City on March 1; but the commands had been given secretly, and the captain of one company was not aware that another was expected. It was not done by the wand of a magician, as the superstitious people are given to believing, but was the result of a long and a carefully studied plan by one who was born a dictator, and knew how to perform the part.

But the commotion was even greater in the other republics, over which Barrios had assumed uninvited control. The night on which the official announcement was made, telegrams were sent to the Presidents of Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, calling upon them to acknowledge the temporary supremacy of Dictator Barrios, and to sign Articles of Confederation of the Central American Union. Messengers had been sent in advance bearing official copies of the proclamation in which the reasons for the step were set forth, but with directions not to deliver them until notified by telegraph. The President of Honduras welcomed the dictatorship, having been in close conference with Barrios on the subject previous to the announcement. The President of San Salvador, Doctor Zaldivar, who was also aware of the intentions of Barrios and was expected to fall in with the plan as readily as President Bogran, created some surprise by asking time to consider. As far as he was personally concerned, he said, there was nothing that would please him more than to comply with the wishes of the Dictator, but he must consult the people. He promised to call Congress together at once, that after due consideration it might take such action as it thought proper. Nicaragua boldly and emphatically refused to recognize the authority of Barrios, and rejected the plan of the union. Costa Rica replied in the same manner, her president telegraphing Barrios that she wanted no union with the other Central American states, was satisfied with her own independence, and recognized no dictator; that her people would defend

their soil and their liberty, and would appeal to the civilized world for protection against any unwarranted attack.

The policy of Nicaragua was governed by the influence of a firm of British merchants in Leon, with which President Cardenas had a pecuniary interest, and by whom his official acts were controlled. The policy of Costa Rica was governed by a conservative sentiment that has always prevailed in that country, while the influence of Mexico was felt throughout the entire group of nations. As soon as the proclamation of Barrios was announced at the capital of the latter republic, President Diaz ordered an army into the field, and telegraphed offers of assistance to Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Costa Rica, with threats of violence to Honduras if she yielded submission. Mexico had always been jealous of Guatemala. The boundary line between the two nations was unsettled, and a rich tract of country in dispute. Feeling a natural distrust of the power below her, strengthened by alliance with the other states, Mexico was prepared to resist the plans of Barrios to the last degree, and sent him a declaration of war.

In the mean time, Barrios had appealed for the approval of the United States and the nations of Europe. During the brief administration of President Garfield he had visited Washington, and there received assurance of encouragement from Mr. Blaine in his plan to reorganize the Central American Confederacy. These personal interviews were followed by an extended correspondence, and no one was so fully informed of Barrios's plans as Mr. Henry C. Hall, the United States Minister at Guatemala. Unfortunately the cable to Europe and the United States was under the control of San Salvador, landing at La Libertad, the principal port of that republic. Here was the greatest obstacle in the way of Barrios's success. All his despatches to foreign governments were sent overland to La Libertad for further transmission by cable, but none of them reached their destination. The commandant of the port, under orders from Zaldivar, seized the office and suppressed the messages. Barrios sought to inform the foreign powers fully of his plans and the motives which prompted them, repeating to each the assurance that he was not inspired by personal ambition and would accept only a temporary dictatorship. As soon as a constitutional convention of delegates from the several republics could assemble he would retire, he declared, and permit the choice of a president of the consolidated republics by a popular election, he

himself under no circumstances to be a candidate. But these declarations were never sent. In place of them Zaldivar transmitted a series of despatches misrepresenting the situation, and appealing for protection against Guatemalan tyranny.

The replies of foreign nations and the comments of the press, based upon the falsehoods of Zaldivar, had a very depressing effect upon the country. They were more or less doctored before publication, and bogus bulletins were posted for the purpose of deceiving the people. The inhabitants of San Salvador were led to believe that naval fleets were on their way from the United States and Europe to prevent the consolidation of the republics by force, that an army was coming overland from Mexico to attack Guatemala on the north, and that several transports loaded with troops had left New Orleans for the east coast of Nicaragua and Honduras. The United States Coast-Survey ship, *Ranger*, carrying four small guns, happening to enter at La Union, Nicaragua, engaged in its regular duties, was magnified into a fleet of hundreds of thousands of tons; so that the people of San Salvador and Nicaragua, convinced that submission to Barrios would require them to engage the combined forces of Europe and the United States, rose in resistance and supported Zaldivar in his treachery.

The effect in Guatemala was similar, although not so pronounced. There was a reversion of feeling against the Government. The moneyed men, who in their original enthusiasm had tendered their funds to the President, withdrew their promises; the common people grew nervous and lost confidence in their hero; while the Diplomatic Corps were in a state of panic because they received no instructions from home. The German and French Ministers, like the Minister from the United States, were favorable to Barrios's plans; the Spanish Minister was outspoken in opposition; the English and Italian Ministers non-committal; but none of them knew what to say or how to act in the absence of instructions. They telegraphed to their home governments repeatedly, but could obtain no replies, and suspected that the trouble might be in San Salvador. Mr. Hall, the American Minister, transmitted a full description of the situation every evening and begged for instructions, but did not receive a word beyond the advices previously sent by mail. These informed him that the Government's policy in relation to the plan to reunite the republics was one of non-interference, and advised him that the spirit of the century was contrary to the use of force to

accomplish such an end. Acting upon this information, Mr. Hall had frequent and cordial conferences with the President, and received from him a promise that he would not invade either of the neighboring republics, unless forced to do so. If Guatemala was invaded he would retaliate, but otherwise would not cross the border. In the mean time the forces of Guatemala, 40,000 strong, were massed at the capital, the streets were full of marching soldiers, and the air was filled with martial music, while Zaldivar was raising an army by conscription in San Salvador, and money by forced loans. His Government daily announced the arrival of so many "volunteers" at the capital, but the volunteering was a transparent myth. There was a current anecdote of a recruiting officer who wrote to the Secretary of War:

"I send you forty more volunteers. Please return me the ropes with which their hands and legs are tied, as I shall need them to bind the quota from the next town."

In the city of San Salvador many of the merchants closed their stores, and concealed themselves to avoid the payment of forced loans. The Government called a *Junta*, or meeting, of the wealthy residents, each one being personally notified by an officer that his attendance was required, at which the Secretary of War announced that a million dollars for the equipment of troops must be instantly raised. The Government, he said, was assured of the aid of foreign powers to defeat the plans of Barrios, but until the forces of Europe and the United States could reach the coast the republic must protect itself. Each merchant and *estancero* (planter) was assessed a certain amount to make the total required, and was ordered to pay it into the treasury within twenty-four hours. Some responded promptly, others procrastinated, and a few flatly refused. The latter were thrust into jail, and the confiscation of their property threatened unless they paid. In one or two cases the threat was executed; but on the day after the meeting the *Official Gazette* announced, with cold sarcasm, that the patriotic citizens of San Salvador had voluntarily come to the assistance of the Government with their arms and means, and had tendered financial aid to the amount of \$1,000,000, the acceptance of which the President was now considering.

Barrios, knowing that the army of Zaldivar would invade Guatemala, commenced an offensive campaign. In order to occupy the attention of the people, he sent a detachment of troops to the frontier, and decided to accompany them. The evening before he started

there was what is called "a grand *funcion*" at the National Theatre. All of the military bands assembled at the capital—a dozen or more—were consolidated for the occasion, and between the acts performed a march composed by a local musician in honor of the Union of Central America, and dedicated to General Barrios. A large screen of sheeting was elaborately painted with the inscription, "All hail to the Union of the Republic! Long live the Dictator and the Generalissimo, J. Rufino Barrios!" This was attached to heavy rollers, to be dropped in front of the stage instead of the regular curtain at the end of the second act of the play, for the purpose of creating a sensation; and a sensation it did create—an unexpected and frightful one. As the orchestra commenced to play the new march the curtain was slowly lowered, and the audience greeted it with tremendous applause. But through the blunder of the stage carpenter the weights were too heavy for the cotton sheeting; the banner split, and the heavy rollers at the bottom fell over into the orchestra, severely wounding several of the musicians. As fate would have it, the rent was directly through the name of Barrios. The people, naturally superstitious, were horrified, and stood aghast at this omen of disaster. The cheering ceased instantly, and a dead silence prevailed, broken only by the noise of the musicians under the wreck struggling to recover their feet. A few of the more courageous friends of the President attempted to revive the applause, but met with a miserable failure. Strong men shuddered, women fainted, and Madame Barrios left the theatre, unable to control her emotion. The play was suspended; the audience departed to discuss the omen, and everybody agreed that Barrios's *coup-d'état* would fail.

The President left the city at the head of his army for the frontier of San Salvador, his wife accompanying him a few miles on the way. A few days later a small detachment of the Guatemalan army, commanded by a son of Barrios, started out on a scouting expedition, and were attacked by an overwhelming force of Salvadorians. The young captain was killed by the first volley, and his company stampeded. Leaving his body on the field, they retreated in confusion to headquarters. When Barrios heard of the disaster he leaped upon his horse, called upon his cavalry to follow him, and started in pursuit of the men who had killed his son. The Salvadorians, expecting to be pursued, lay in ambush, and the Dictator, while galloping down the road at the head of a squadron of cavalry, was

picked off by a sharpshooter and died instantly. His men took his body and that of his son, which was found by the road-side, and carried them back to camp. A courier was despatched to the nearest telegraph station with a message to the capital conveying the sad news. It was not unexpected. Since the omen at the theatre no one had expected the Dictator would return alive. All but himself had lost confidence, and it transpired that even he went to the front with a presentiment of disaster, for among his papers was found this remarkable will, written a few moments before his departure :

“THE WILL OF BARRIOS.

“I am in full campaign, and make my declaration as a soldier.

“My legitimate wife is Donna Francisca Apaucio vel Vecusidarie de Quezaltenango.

“During our marriage we have had seven children, as follows : Elaine, Luz, José, María, Carlos, Rufino, and Francisca.

“Donna Francisca is the sole owner of all my properties and interest whatsoever. She will know how much to give our children when they arrive at maturity, and I have full confidence in her.

“She may give to my nephew, Luciano Barrios, in two or three instalments, \$25,000, for the kindness which this nephew has rendered to me, and which I doubt not he will continue to render to my wife, Donna Francisca.

“She will continue to provide for the education of Antonio Barrios, who is now in the United States of America.

“She is empowered to demand and collect all debts due to me in this country and abroad. The overseers and administrators of my properties, wherever they may be, shall account only to Donna Francisca, or the person she may name.

“It is five o'clock in the morning. At this moment I start forth to Jutiapa, where the army is.

“J. RUFINO BARRIOS.

“MONDAY, *March 23, 1885.*”

The attempt to reunite the republic ended with the death of the Dictator, and the whole country was thrown into confusion. In Guatemala City anarchy prevailed. The enemies of Barrios did not fear a dead lion, and kicked his body. They came out in force, stoned his house, and his beautiful wife was forced to seek the protection of the United States Minister. The latter's secretary escorted her to San José, where she took a steamer for San Francisco, and she has since resided in New York.

WILLIAM ELEROY CURTIS.

PASTORAL ELEGIES.

THE chord of pastoral elegy, first struck by Bion in his *Lament for Adonis*, is one which through varying expansion and modification has kept its resonance down to the present day. The *Lament for Bion* by Moschus, the *Lycidas* of Milton, the *Adonais* of Shelley, the *Thyrsis* of Arnold, the *Ave atque Vale* of Swinburne, these all have their origin, more or less directly, in that brief and simple idyl. My purpose here is to seek out the relations existing between these poems, and to endeavor to indicate the development of this species of verse. Neither the purely subjective *In Memoriam*, nor the impersonal revery of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* falls within my scope, as neither adopts any part of the conventional framework upon which the pastoral elegy relies.

The form taught by Bion has shown itself adaptable and expansive. For the expression of a grief which is personal, but not too passionately so, and which is permitted to utter itself in panegyric, it has proved exactly fitted. A rapid inter-transition between subjective and objective treatment, a breadth of appeal, a reliance upon general sympathy, these are characteristics which endow this species of verse with its wonderful flexibility and freshness. The lines of its structure, moreover, admit of an almost indefinite degree of decoration, without an appearance of over-abundant and extrinsic detail, or departure from the unity of the design.

In the *Lament for Adonis* the design is marked by extreme simplicity. The singer vibrates between musical reiterations of his own sorrow and reiterations of the sorrow of Aphrodite. Her grief, together with the beauty and the fate of Adonis, is dwelt upon with a wealth of emotional description, and reverted to again and again, while in the intervals are heard lamentations from the rivers and the springs; from the hounds of the slain hunter, and the nymphs of his forest glades; from the mountains, the oak-trees, the flowers that redden for anguish; from the Loves who clip their locks, the Muses, the Graces, and Hymenæus with benignant torch extinguished. The most passionate passage in the poem comes from the mouth of Aphrodite herself; and even this, dramatic as it is in expression,

is held strictly within the bounds of self-conscious and melodious utterance. Throbbing irregularly through the verse, as a peal of bells borne in between the pauses of the wind, now complete, now fragmentary and vanishing, come the notes of the refrain,

"Woe, woe for Adonis, the Loves join in the lament."

When we turn to the poem of Moschus, we see what an expansion has been wrought in the slender pastoral, and not with loss but with gain in unity and artistic effect. The advance is toward a more definite purpose in the use of reiteration, a more orderly evolution, a wider vision, a more vivid and human interest, and a substitution of the particular for the general. Here, in place of undistinguished springs and rivers, we find the "Dorian water," the fountain Arethusa, and Meles, "most melodious of streams." It is not the flowers in general that redden in their anguish, but each manifests its pain in its own fashion: the roses and the wind-flowers blush to a deeper crimson; the hyacinth breathes more poignantly the *ai ai* upon its petals, and the trees throw down their young fruit. It is no longer to the unnamed array of nymphs that appeal is made, but with far more potent spell to Galatea herself, to the Nymphs Bistonian, to the damsels of Ægria. The heifers reject their pasture, the ewes withhold their milk, and the honey has dried up for sorrow in the wax. Apollo himself is added to the mourners, with the Satyrs and the Fauns. The illustrious among cities bring their tribute, Ascala lamenting more than for her Hesiod, Mitylene than for her Sappho; and Syracuse grieves through the lips of her Theocritus. The night-ingales of Sicily join their song, and the Strymonian swans, and the bird of Memnon, the halycon, "the swallow on the long ranges of the hills," and in the sea the music-loving dolphins. Finally the poet, recalling the descent of Orpheus to Hades, and how his song there sped him, laments that he himself cannot travel the same path on like errand, and dreams that Persephone were already half won to grant his suit, seeing that she, too, is Sicilian, and skilled in the Dorian song. All this is development along the same lines as those laid down in the *Lament for Adonis*. The method is still almost wholly emotional and pictorial, but two or three new elements begin to hint their advent. The strain of philosophical meditation, later to assume a preponderating influence in this species of verse, here begins in a passage of exquisite loveliness, which is expanded from a single phrase in the *Lament for Adonis*. In the latter poem Cypris cries out

to Persephone, "All lovely things drift down to thee." Observe what this becomes in the hands of Moschus:*

"Ah me, when the mallows wither in the garden, and the green parsley, and the curled tendrils of the anise, on a later day they live again, and spring in another year, but we men, we the great and mighty and wise, when once we have died, in the hollow earth we sleep, gone down into silence; a right long, and endless, and unawakening sleep."

A new note, too, is that touched in the references to Homer, wherein a swift comparison is instituted between the epic and the idyl, and their respective sources of inspiration; and here is the first appearance of the autobiographic tendency, which in some later poems of the class becomes a prominent feature. In the matter of direct verbal borrowing Moschus seems to owe but little to his master, his indebtedness in this respect being as nothing in comparison with that of Milton and Shelley. The refrain ("Begin, Ye Sicilian Muses, begin the dirge"), as used by Moschus, has not quite the same functions as those allotted it by Bion. It is used with greater frequency and regularity, as a sort of solemnly sweet response marking off stanzaic divisions, and in its substance is not so interwoven with the body of the song.

In *Lycidas* the same lines are pursued through the greater portion of the poem. The personal note is intensified, which follows from the fact that the lament is for a friend no less than for a fellow-singer. The conventional disguise of the art of song under the homely shepherd's trade is more insisted upon; it becomes now the basis of every detail, and the parallel is carried out to its limits. A higher degree of complexity is attained, but not without a loss in congruity and in clearness. The verse is not less responsive to the touch of external nature, but it has acquired a new susceptibility to the influences of learning, of morals, and of the tumultuous questions of the day. It cannot refrain from polemics, it allegorizes on the smallest excuse, and it indulges in an almost pedantic amount of abstruse and remote allusion. It is scholastic poetry; but informed, nevertheless, with such imaginative vigor, filled with such sympathy for nature, attuned to such sonorous harmonies, and modulated to cadences so subtle, as to surpass in all but simplicity the distinctive excellences of its models. The treatment is still frankly objective, transparently free from introspection, the atmosphere and coloring

* The extracts from Bion and Moschus are generally, as in this case, given in the words of Mr. Andrew Lang's admirable translation.

of a noonday vividness, the descriptions drawn at first-hand from that affluent landscape which the poet's early manhood knew at Horton. As in its predecessors, the objects of familiar nature are appealed to, the "Dorian water" and other classic streams, the dolphins, the Nymphs, the Muses, and Apollo himself; but, by a strange anomaly, St. Peter, too, comes amid the pagan train, and pronounces a scathing diatribe against the opponents of Milton's theological school of thought. This is a lesson learned of Dante, perhaps. And it is quite in keeping with later mediæval methods that the passage of most exalted spirituality which the poem affords should be placed on the lips of Apollo. An element which here makes its first appearance in the pastoral elegy is discovered in the lofty rejoicing of the conclusion. The note of hope was wanting in the pagan elegies, so their sorrow deepens to the end. But *Lycidas* is the expression of a confident immortality, and hence the temporal grief which it bewails passes at length into a solemn gladness of consolation.

In regard to style Milton has not conformed closely to his originals. The departure is from a direct to an indirect utterance, the singer being, ostensibly, not the poet himself, but the "uncouth swain" depicted in that matchless bit of purest Greek objectivity which, in terminating the poem, appears to throw it out into clear relief. The refrain has dwindled to nothing more than the unobtrusive repetition of a few phrases. And for the fluent, direct, pellucid Sicilian hexameters we have the measured and delaying pace of the Iambic pentameter. The measure is one of high and stately loveliness, but bearing little resemblance to the line of Bion and Moschus.

When we come to the *Adonais*, we find ourselves in another atmosphere. Hitherto our path has lain along the valleys and the gentle hill-slopes, where nature is all fertility and peace, where the winds are soft, the waters slow-winding, the meadows thick with flowers, and the sunshine heavy with fragrance. We have been in the region of the pipe, the safe flocks, the "azure pillars of the hearth." However much the strain may have been laden with allegory and with symbol, yet the joys recalled, the griefs lamented, the hopes and desires rehearsed, have all been definite, not only measurable but measured and stated. It is with material conceptions that the singer has been occupied. But Shelley hurries us out upon the heights, where the air is keen and stimulating, and the horizon so vast that the gaze acquires a wide-eyed eagerness; where the more minute details of life are lost as the shifting pageantry of night and

day is unrolled in dazzling nearness. The coloring is transparent, of a celestial purity, and ordered in strangely vivid contrasts, and, instead of a pastoral stillness, we have the unrest of winds, the aspiration of flame.

The many points of resemblance between the *Adonais* and its models, though obvious enough to force themselves upon the most casual attention, are yet far more superficial than those existing between the models themselves. So extraneous indeed is the likeness, that I am tempted to illustrate it by the comparison of a seed of grain which is easily recognizable after its germination because it carries with it, upon its expanding seed-leaf, the remnants of its husk. To identify it is a simple matter, but its transformation is none the less complete. In *Adonais* we find verbal borrowings so ingenuous and so abundant that the censor of literary morals has not breath enough to cry "*stop thief*." In truth, to change the figure, Shelley has not scrupled to appropriate the gold of his predecessors as a setting for his diamonds. In place of the Paphian goddess we now find Urania, the heavenly muse; instead of the Loves and Nymphs, the Desires, Adorations, and Dreams of the dead poet; and for the shepherds, under thin disguise, come the great contemporary singers, Byron, Moore, Hunt, Shelley himself. After the fashion of the Loves in Bion, a Dream seeks to break her bow and shafts, while another clips her locks; as in Moschus, Echo feeds on the dead singer's music, and the trees cast down their expanding buds; and one of Shelley's Ministers of Thought is heard to cry, with voice not all unlike that of the shepherd in *Lycidas*, "Our love, our hope, our sorrow is not dead." These parallels, and others like them, are sufficiently emphatic, but their little importance is to be estimated from the fact that they might all be obliterated without destroying the unity of the poem, without even making serious inroad upon its highest and most distinctive beauties. The material conceptions of his predecessors Shelley has adopted, but he has made them subservient to an intensely spiritualized emotion and aspiration. The very imagery of the poem is to a great extent psychological in its origin, yet as vivid as if derived from the most familiar of physical phenomena.

The height of attainment in the *Adonais* is not reached until the poet's passion of thought has carried him clear of his models. So long as his song was of loss and sorrow he was, perhaps, neither greater nor less than they, only more metaphysical, more fierce in

invective, less serenely and temperately beautiful. But when he comes to speak of consolation, the theme, even in *Lycidas*, of only one brief passage, he straightway attains his full measure of inspiration. The whiteness to which this thought has kindled his imagination transfuses nearly every line of the concluding seventeen stanzas. This consolation is based upon a sort of spiritualized pantheism, vivified by a breath of the essence of Christian philosophy, and finds its fullest expression in stanzas xlii. and xlii :

"He is made one with Nature : there is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder, to the voice of night's sweet bird ;
He is a presence to be felt and known
In darkness and in light, from herb and stone,
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move
Which has withdrawn his being to its own ;
Which wields the world with never wearied love,
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

"He is a portion of the loveliness
Which once he made more lovely : he doth bear
His part, while the one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there,
All new successions to the forms they wear ;
Torturing th' unwilling dross that checks its flight
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear ;
And bursting in its beauty and its might
From trees and beasts and men into the Heaven's light."

The unsatisfying element in this faith is compensated for by the creed of personal immortality, of inextinguishable identity, expressed in stanzas xliv., xlv., and xlvi. :

"The splendors of the firmament of time
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not ;
Like stars to their appointed height they climb,
And death is a low mist which cannot blot
The brightness it may veil."

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"The inheritors of unfulfilled renown
Rose from their thrones, built beyond mortal thought,
Far in the Unapparent,
Oblivion as they rose shrank like a thing reproved."

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"And many more, whose names on Earth are dark,
But whose transmitted effluence cannot die
So long as fire outlives the parent spark,
Rose, robed in dazzling immortality."

Then follows an inspired digression describing the loveliness of that last resting-place of the mortal vesture of Adonais—a loveliness suggesting the dead poet's own utterance: "I have been half in love with easeful Death." And the poem concludes with a majesty which is thus admirably analyzed by Mr. Symonds:

"Yet again the thought of Death as the deliverer, the revealer, the mystagogue, through whom the soul of man is reunited to the spirit of the universe, returns; and on this solemn note the poem closes. The symphony of exaltation which had greeted the passage of Adonais into the eternal world is here subdued to a grave key, as befits the mood of one whom mystery and mourning still oppress on earth. Yet even in the somewhat less than jubilant conclusion we feel that highest of all Shelley's qualities, the liberation of incalculable energies, the emancipation and expansion of a force within the soul, victorious over circumstance, exhilarated and elevated by contact with such hopes as make a feebler spirit tremble."

"The breath whose might I have invoked in song
Descends on me; my spirit's bark is driven
Far from the shore, far from the trembling throng
Whose sails were never to the tempest given;
The massy earth and spherèd skies are riven!
I am borne darkly, fearfully, afar;
Whilst burning through the inmost veil of Heaven,
The soul of Adonais, like a star,
Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are."

The *Thyrsis* of Mr. Arnold, in temper one of the most modern of poems, maintains, nevertheless, a closer relationship than does the *Adonais* to the work of the Sicilian elegists. With a far less degree of external resemblance, it makes at the same time a less marked spiritual departure from the field and scope of its models. The conventional metonymy of shepherd and pipe is still adhered to consistently; the names of Corydon and Daphnis still figure. But the heterogeneous train of mourners is gone; the solitary singer makes no call upon Nymphs or Loves, Dreams or Desires, Deities or the phenomena of Nature to assist his sorrow. The use of iteration still remains, much modified; but the refrain has vanished utterly; and, save for stanzas ix. and x., which read almost like an adorned and expanded paraphrase of the conclusion of the epitaph on Bion, there is scarcely an instance of adaptation or verbal borrowing. So much for external likeness and contrast. But a profound internal resemblance makes itself felt, I think, in a sense of something approaching finality in the mourner's loss. There is, indeed, in *Thyrsis* a search made for consolation, but the result of the search is inadequate and slight. This consolation excites no such melodious

fervor as does that found by Milton and by Shelley. Indeed, it seems scarcely to win the thorough confidence of even Mr. Arnold himself :

“ Let in thy voice a whisper often come
To chase fatigue and fear :
Why faintest thou ? I wander'd till I died.
Roam on ! The light we sought is shining still.
Dost thou ask proof ? Our tree yet crowns the hill,
Our Scholar travels yet the loved hill-side.”

The proof is scarcely such as to carry conviction, and the faith it upholds is somewhat thin and pale after the creeds of *Lycidas* and the *Adonais*. Nevertheless, though cold, it is a high and severe philosophy which informs the *Thyrsis* :

“ A fugitive and gracious light he seeks,
Shy to illumine ; and I seek it too.
This does not come with houses or with gold,
With place, with honor, and a flattering crew ;
'Tis not in the world's market bought and sold—
But the smooth-slipping weeks
Drop by, and leave its seeker still untired ;
Out of the heed of mortals he is gone,
He wends unfollowed, he must house alone ;
Yet on he fares, by his own heart inspired.”

This goes beyond any motive or aspiration expressed by the Sicilian singers. But the philosophy lightly suggested in stanza viii. is not far from identical with that of the passage already quoted from Moschus ; and the elysium claimed for *Thyrsis* (“ within a folding of the Apennine,” to hearken “ the immortal chants of old ”) is not fundamentally different from that to which *Adonis* and *Bion* were snatched reluctant away.

I have spoken of the modern temper of the *Thyrsis*. This is to be found, I think, in its underlying scepticism, and in a profound consciousness of the weariness and the meagre rewards of struggle. The heroic and stimulating element in the poem consists in the lofty courage with which this depressing consciousness is held at bay, that it exert not its demoralizing influence on life and conduct. Another peculiarly modern quality is that which Mr. Hutton describes as a “ craving after a reconciliation between the intellect of man and the magic of nature.” The keen and ever-present perception of this *magic of nature* is the origin of that which constitutes perhaps the crowning excellence of the work, its faithful and yet not slavish realism, its minute yet inspired depictions. This is the

sort of realism, interpretive, selective, imaginative, which forms the basis of all the most enduring and satisfying verse. In its most selective phase it pervades stanza vii., which furnishes an interesting parallel to the exquisite flower-passage in *Lycidas*.

A minor difference between the *Thyrsis* and its predecessors, yet a difference reaching far in its effects, is to be found in the quality of its color. This has little of the flooding sunlight and summer luxuriance to which Moschus and Milton introduced us; it has none of the iridescent and auroral splendors which steep the verse of Shelley. It is light, cool, and pure; most temperate in the use of strong tints, and matchless for its tenderness and its exquisite delicacy of gradation. This coloring contributes appreciably to what I take to be the central impression which the *Thyrsis* aims to convey—the impression of a serious and lofty calm, the result, not of joy attained, but of clear-sighted and unsanguine endurance.

Arriving at Mr. Swinburne's *Ave atque Vale*, we seem to have rounded a cycle. While structural resemblances have all but vanished, in substance of consolation we stand once more where Bion stood, and Moschus. In motive there is a vast descent from the *Thyrsis* to this poem. No longer is there any high endurance to spiritualize the hopelessness of the mourner, and hold him above the reach of despair. Nothing but the negative prospect of a sort of perpetual coma, or, at most, the sensuous solace of a palely luxurious peace.

“It is enough; the end and the beginning
Are one thing to thee, who art past the end.
O hand unclasped of unbeholden friend!
For thee no fruit to pluck, no palms for winning,
No triumph and no labor and no lust,
Only dead yew-leaves and a little dust.
O quiet eyes wherein the light saith nought,
Whereto the day is dumb, nor any night
With obscure finger silences your sight,
Nor in your speech the sudden soul speaks thought,
Sleep, and have sleep for light.”

But while motive lessened and conception lowered, execution was rising to an almost unsurpassable height. With the exception of the *Lament for Bion*, no one of the poems we have been considering can equal this in perfection of structure. In unity of effect, in strong continuity of impulse, it seems to me unexcelled. Never varying from its majestic restraint, it achieves such matchless verbal music as that of stanza ii., such serious breadth of imagination as is

exemplified in stanza vi., and such haunting cadences of regret as these lines from stanza ix. express:

"Yet with some fancy, yet with some desire,
 Dreams pursue death as winds a flying fire,
 Our dreams pursue our dead, and do not find.
 Still, and more swift than they, the thin flame flies,
 The low light fails us in elusive skies,
 Still the foiled earnest ear is deaf, and blind
 Are still the eluded eyes."

Of what may be called the machinery of mourning, with which the Sicilians set out so well equipped, we find here little remaining. It has nearly all seemed superfluous to the later elegist. A remnant appears in stanza xi., and still

"bending us-ward with memorial urns
 The most high Muses that fulfil all ages
 Weep."

Still Apollo is present, and

"Compassionate, with sad and sacred heart,
 Mourns thee of many his children the last dead."

And Aphrodite keeps place among the mourners; but she is no longer either the spiritual Venus Urania, or the gladly fair and sanely passionate Cytherea of the Greeks. She has become that bastard conception of the Middle Ages, the Venus of the hollow hill, "a ghost, a bitter and luxurious god."

To conclude with a brief recapitulation: it would appear that the pastoral elegy, originated by Bion, reached its complete structural development in the hands of Moschus; and that, in its inner meaning, the work of these two poets was adequate to the spiritual stature of their day. The *Lycidas* was an inspired adaptation of like materials to the needs of a more complex period. In the *Adonais* we find the structure undergoing a violent expansion, and a new and vast departure made in the sphere of conception and motive. In hopefulness, in consolation, in exalted thought, in uplifting emotion, Shelley's poem occupies the pinnacle of achievement for this species of verse. In the *Thyrsis* we see structural conformity diminishing, but at the same time a reapproach to the religious attitude of the Greek originals. The elements of spirituality and hope have declined, but to support us till the coming of "the morning-less and unawakening sleep," some inward consolation yet remains, in a spirit akin to that of the best wisdom of the Greek philosophies.

In this poem we discover, too, if not the complete contemporary adequacy of the work of Bion and Moschus, nevertheless a most sympathetic expression of the intellectual tendencies of the period.

Finally, in the *Ave atque Vale*, with a structural resemblance reduced to its lowest terms, we find a remarkable return to the spirit of the laments for Adonis and Bion. To the sorrow of this elegy there is no mitigation suggested. The goal it points to is but a form of annihilation, or such gray pretence of immortality as that of the ghosts in the abode of Hades. Nevertheless, though without spiritual sincerity or a stimulating faith, the poem is effectually redeemed from hollowness, and endowed, I believe, with a perpetual interest, by the sincerity of its lyric impulse, its passion for beauty, its imagination, and its flawless art.

CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.

FISHIN' JIMMY.

IT was on the margin of Pond Brook, just back of Uncle Eben's, that I first saw Fishin' Jimmy. It was early June, and we were again at Franconia, that peaceful little village among the northern hills.

The boys, as usual, were tempting the trout with false fly or real worm, and I was roaming along the bank, seeking spring flowers, and hunting early butterflies and moths. Suddenly there was a little splash in the water at the spot where Ralph was fishing, the slender tip of his rod bent, I heard a voice cry out, "Strike him, sonny, strike him!" and an old man came quickly but noiselessly through the bushes just as Ralph's line flew up into space, with, alas, no shining, spotted trout upon the hook. The new-comer was a spare, wiry man of middle height, with a slight stoop in his shoulders, a thin brown face, and scanty gray hair. He carried a fishing-rod, and had some small trout strung on a forked stick in one hand. A simple, homely figure, yet he stands out in memory just as I saw him then, no more to be forgotten than the granite hills, the rushing streams, the cascades of that north country I love so well.

We fell into talk at once, Ralph and Waldo rushing eagerly into questions about the fish, the bait, the best spots in the stream, advancing their own small theories, and asking advice from their new friend. For friend he seemed even in that first hour, as he began simply, but so wisely, to teach my boys the art he loved. They are older now, and are no mean anglers, I believe, but they look back gratefully to those brookside lessons, and acknowledge gladly their obligations to Fishin' Jimmy. But it is not of these practical teachings I would now speak; rather of the lessons of simple faith, of unwearied patience, of self-denial and cheerful endurance which the old man himself seemed to have learned, strangely enough, from the very sport so often called cruel and murderous. Incomprehensible as it may seem, to his simple intellect the fisherman's art was a whole system of morality, a guide for every-day life, an education, a gospel. It was all any poor mortal man, woman, or child needed in this world to make him or her happy, useful, good.

At first we scarcely realized this, and wondered greatly at certain things he said, and the tone in which he said them. I remember at that first meeting I asked him, rather carelessly, "Do you like fishing?" He did not reply at first; then he looked at me with those odd, limpid, green-gray eyes of his which always seemed to reflect the clear waters of mountain streams, and said very quietly: "You wouldn't ask me if I liked my mother—or my wife." And he always spoke of his pursuit as one speaks of something very dear, very sacred. Part of his story I learned from others, but most of it from himself, bit by bit, as we wandered together day by day in that lovely hill-country. As I tell it over again I seem to hear the rush of mountain streams, the "sound of a going in the tops of the trees," the sweet, pensive strain of white-throat sparrow, and the splash of leaping trout; to see the crystal-clear waters pouring over granite rock, the wonderful purple light upon the mountains, the flash and glint of darting fish, the tender green of early summer in the north country.

Fishin' Jimmy's real name was James Whitcher. He was born in the Franconia Valley, and his whole life had been passed there. He had always fished; he could not remember when or how he learned the art. From the days when, a tiny, bare-legged urchin in ragged frock, he had dropped his piece of string with its bent pin at the end into the narrow, shallow brooklet behind his father's house, through early boyhood's season of roaming along Gale River, wading Black Brook, rowing a leaky boat on Streeter's or Mink Pond, through youth, through manhood, on and on into old age, his life had apparently been one long day's fishing—an angler's holiday. Had it been only that? He had not cared for books, or school, and all efforts to tie him down to study were unavailing. But he knew well the books of running brooks. No dry botanical text-book or manual could have taught him all he now knew of plants and flowers and trees.

He did not call the yellow spatterdock *Nuphar advena*, but he knew its large leaves of rich green, where the black bass or pickerel sheltered themselves from the summer sun, and its yellow balls on stout stems, around which his line so often twined and twisted, or in which the hook caught, not to be jerked out till the long, green, juicy stalk itself, topped with globe of greenish gold, came up from its wet bed. He knew the sedges along the bank with their nodding tassels and stiff lance-like leaves, the feathery grasses, the velvet

moss upon the wet stones, the sea-green lichen on boulder or tree-trunk. There, in that corner of Echo Lake, grew the thickest patch of pipewort, with its small, round, grayish-white, mushroom-shaped tops on long, slender stems. If he had styled it *Eriocaulon septangulare*, would it have shown a closer knowledge of its habits than did his careful avoidance of its vicinity, his keeping line and flies at a safe distance, as he muttered to himself, "Them pesky butt'ns agin!" He knew by sight the bur-reed of mountain ponds, with its round, prickly balls strung like big beads on the stiff, erect stalks; the little water-lobelia, with tiny purple blossoms, springing from the waters of lake and pond. He knew, too, all the strange, beautiful under-water growth: bladderwort in long, feathery garlands, pellucid water-weed, quillwort in stiff little bunches with sharp-pointed leaves of olive-green, all so seldom seen save by the angler whose hooks draw up from time to time the wet, lovely tangle. I remember the amusement with which a certain well-known botanist, who had journeyed to the mountains in search of a little plant, found many years ago near Echo Lake, but not since seen, heard me propose to consult Fishin' Jimmy on the subject. But I was wiser than he knew. Jimmy looked at the specimen brought as an aid to identification. It was dry and flattened, and as unlike a living, growing plant as are generally the specimens from an herbarium. But it showed the awl-shaped leaves, and thread-like stalk with its tiny round seed-vessels, like those of our common shepherd's-purse, and Jimmy knew it at once. "There's a dreffle lot o' that peppergrass out in deep water there, jest where I ketched the big pick'ril," he said quietly. "I seen it nigh a foot high, an' it's jucier an' livin'er than them dead sticks in your book." At our request he accompanied the unbelieving botanist and myself to the spot, and there, looking down through the sunlit water, we saw great patches of that rare and long-lost plant of the *cruciferae* known to science as *Subularia aquatica*. For forty years it had hidden itself away, growing and blossoming and casting abroad its tiny seeds, in its watery home, unseen, or at least unnoticed, by living soul except by the keen, soft, limpid eyes of Fishin' Jimmy. And he knew the trees and shrubs so well; the alder and birch from which as a boy he cut his simple, pliant pole; the shad-blow and iron-wood (he called them, respectively, sugarplum and hard-hack) which he used for the more ambitious rods of maturer years; the mooseberry, wayfaring-tree, hobble-bush, or triptoe—it has all these names—with stout, trailing branches

over which he stumbled as he hurried through the woods and underbrush in the darkening twilight.

He had never heard of entomology. Guénée, Hübner, and Fabricius were unknown names, but he could have told these worthies many new things. Did they know just at what hour the trout ceased leaping at dark fly or moth, and could see only in the dim light the ghostly white miller? Did they know the comparative merits, as a tempting bait, of grasshopper, cricket, spider, or wasp; and could they, with bits of wool, tinsel, and feather, copy the real dipterous, hymenopterous, or orthopterous insect? And the birds: he knew them as do few ornithologists, by sight, by sound, by little ways and tricks of their own, known only to themselves and him. The white-throat sparrow with its sweet, far-reaching chant, the hermit-thrush with its chime of bells, in the calm summer twilight, the vesper-sparrow that ran before him as he crossed the meadow, or sang for hours, as he fished the stream, its unvarying, but scarcely monotonous little strain; the cedar-bird with its smooth brown coat of Quaker simplicity, and speech as brief and simple as Quaker yea or nay; the winter-wren sending out his strange, lovely, liquid warble from the high, rocky side of Cannon Mountain; the bluebird of that early spring, so welcome to the winter-weary dwellers in that land of ice and snow, as he

“ from the bluer deeps
Lets fall a quick prophetic strain,”

of summer, of streams freed and flowing again, of waking, darting, eager fish; all these were friends, familiar, tried, and true to Fishin' Jimmy. The cluck and coo of the cuckoo, the bubbling song of bobolink in buff and black, the watery trill of the stream-loving swamp-sparrow, the whispered whistle of the stealthy, darkness-haunting whippoorwill, the gurgle and gargle of the cow-bunting, he knew each and all, better than did Audubon, Nuttall, or Wilson. But he never dreamed that even the tiniest of his little favorites bore in the scientific world, far away from that quiet mountain nest, such names as *Troglodytus hiemalis* or *Melospiza palustris*. He could tell you, too, of strange, shy creatures rarely seen except by the early-rising, late-fishing angler, in quiet, lonesome places: the otter, muskrat, and mink of ponds and lakes—rival fishers, who bore off prey sometimes from under his very eyes—field-mice in meadow and pasture, blind, burrowing moles, prickly hedgehogs, brown hares, and social, curious squirrels.

Sometimes he saw deer, in the early morning or in the dusk of the evening, as they came to drink at the lake shore, and looked at him with big, soft eyes not unlike his own. Sometimes a shaggy bear trotted across his path and hid himself in the forest, or a sharp-eared fox ran barking through the bushes. He loved to tell of these things to us who cared to listen, and I still seem to hear his voice saying in hushed tones, after a story of woodland sight or sound: "Nobody don't see 'em but fishermen. Nobody don't hear 'em but fishermen."

But it was of another kind of knowledge he oftenest spoke, and of which I shall try to tell you, in his own words as nearly as possible.

First let me say that if there should seem to be the faintest tinge of irreverence in aught I write, I tell my story badly. There was no irreverence in Fishin' Jimmy. He possessed a deep and profound veneration for all things spiritual and heavenly; but it was the veneration of a little child, mingled as is that child's with perfect confidence and utter frankness. And he used the dialect of the country in which he lived.

"As I was tellin' ye," he said, "I allers loved fishin' an' knowed 'twas the best thing in the hull airth; I knowed it larnt ye more about creeters an' yarbs an' stuns an' water than books could tell ye; I knowed it made folks patienter an' common-senser an' weather-wiser, an' cuter gen'ally; gin 'em more fac'ity than all the school larnin' in creation. I knowed it was more fillin' than vittles, more rousin' than whiskey, more soothin' than lodlum; I knowed it cooled ye off when ye was het, an' het ye when ye was cold; I knowed all that, o' course—any fool knows it. But—will ye bleve it?—I was more'n twenty-one year old, a man growed, 'fore I foun' out why 'twas that away. Father an' mother was Christian folks, good out-an'-out Calv'nist Baptists from over east'n way. They fetched me up right, made me go to meetin' an' read a chapter every Sunday, an' say a hymn Sat'day night a'ter washin'; an' I useter say my prayers mos' nights. I wa'n't a bad boy as boys go. But nobody thought o' tellin' me the one thing, jest the one single thing that'd ha' made all the diffunce. I knowed about God, an' how he made me an' made the airth, an' everything, an' once I got thinkin' about that, an' I asked my fater if God made the fishes. He said 'course he did, the sea an' all that in 'em is; but somehow that didn't seem to mean nothin' much to me, an' I lost my int'rist agin. An' I read the

Scripter account o' Jonah an' the big fish, an' all that in Job about pullin' out levi'thing with a hook an' stickin' fish spears in his head, an' some parts in them queer books nigh the end o' the ole Testament about fish ponds an' fish gates an' fish pools, an' how the fishers shall l'ment—everything I could pick out about fishin' an' sech ; but it didn't come home to me ; 'twa'n't my kind o' fishin' an' I didn't seem ter sense it.

" But one day—it's more'n forty year ago now, but I rec'lect it same's 'twas yest'day, an' I shall rec'lect it forty thousand year from now if I'm 'round, an' I guess I shall be, I heerd—suthin'—diffunt. I was down in the village one Sunday ; it wa'n't very good fishin'—the streams was too full ; an' I thought I'd jest look into the meetin'-house 's I went by. 'Twas the ole union meetin'-house, ye know, an' they hadn't got no reg'lar s'pply, an' ye never knowed what kind ye'd hear, so 'twas kind o' excitin'.

" 'Twas late, most 'leven o'clock, an' the sarm'n had begun. There was a strange man a-preachin', some one from over to the hotel. I never heerd his name, I never seed him from that day to this ; but I knowed his face. Queer enough I'd seed him a-fishin'. I never knowed he was a min'ster, he didn't look like one. He went about like a real fisherman, with ole clo'es, an' an ole hat with hooks stuck in it, an' big rubber boots, an' he fished, reely fished, I mean—ketched 'em. I guess 'twas that made me liss'n a leetle sharper 'n us'al, for I never seed a fishin' min'ster afore. Elder Jacks'n, he said 'twas a sinf'l waste o' time, an' ole Parson Loomis he'd an idee it was cruel an' onmarciful ; so I thought I'd jest see what this man 'd preach about, an' I settled down to liss'n to the sarm'n.

" But there wa'n't no sarm'n, not what I'd been raised to think was the on'y true kind. There wa'n't no heads, no fustlys nor sec'ndlys, nor fin'ly bruthrins, but the fust thing I knowed I was hearin' a story, an' 'twas a fishin' story. 'Twas about Some One—I hadn't the least idee then who 'twas, an' how much it all meant—Some One that was drefle fond o' fishin' and fishermen, Some One that sot everythin' by the water, an' useter go along by the lakes an' ponds, an' sail on 'em, an' talk with the men that was fishin'. An' how the fishermen all liked him, an' asked his 'dvice, an' done jest 's he telled 'em about the likeliest places to fish ; an' how they allers ketched more fer mindin' him ; an' how when he was a-preachin' he wouldn't go into a big meetin'-house an' talk to rich folks all slicked up, but he'd jest go out in a fishin' boat an' ask the men to shove out a mite,

an' he'd talk to the folks on shore, the fishin' folks, an' their wives, an' the boys an' gals playin' on the shore. An' then, best o' everythin', he telled how when he was a-choosin' the men to go about with him an' help him, an' larn his ways so's to come a'ter him, he fust o' all picked out the men he'd seen every day fishin'; an' mebbe fished with hisself, for he knowed 'em, an' knowed he could trust 'em.

"An' then he telled us about the day when this preacher come along by the lake—a dreffle sightly place, this min'ster said; he'd seed it hisself when he was trav'lin' in them countries—an' come acrost two men he knowed well; they was brothers, an' they was a-fishin'. An' he jest asked 'em in his pleasant-spoken, frien'ly way—there wa'n't never sech a drawin', takin', lovin' way with any one afore as this man had, the min'ster said—he jest asked 'em to come along with him; an' they lay down their poles an' their lines an' everythin', an' jined him. An' then he come along a spell further, an' he see two boys out with their ole father, an' they was settin' in a boat an' fixin' up their tackle, an' he asked 'em if they'd jine him too, an' they jest dropped all their things, an' left the ole man with the boat an' the fish an' the bait, an' follered the preacher. I don't tell it very good. I've read it an' read it sence that; but I want to make ye see how it sounded to me, how I took it, as the min'ster telled it that summer day in Francony meetin'. Ye see I'd no idee who the story was about, the man put it so plain, in common kind o' talk, without any come-to-passes an' whuffers an' thuffers, an' I never conceited 'twas a Bible narr'tive.

"An' so fust thing I knowed I says to myself, 'That's the kind o' teacher I want. If I could come acrost a man like that, I'd jest foller him too, through thick an' thin.' Well, I can't put the rest on it into talk very good; 'taint jest the kind o' thing to speak on 'fore folks, even sech good friends as you. I aint the sort to go back on my word—fishermen aint, ye know—an' what I'd said to myself 'fore I knowed who I was bindin' myself to, I stuck to a'terwards when I knowed all about him. For 'taint for me to tell ye, who've got so much more larnin' than me, that there was a dreffle lot more to that story than the fishin' part. That lovin', givin' up, suff'rin', dyin' part, ye know it all yerself, an' I can't kinder say much on it, 'cept when I'm jest all by myself, or—'long o' him.

"That a'ternoon I took my ole Bible that I hadn't read much sence I growed up, an' I went out into the woods 'long the river, an'

'stid o' fishin' I jest sot down an' read that hull story. Now ye know it yerself by heart, an' ye've knowed it all yer born days, so ye can't begin to tell how new an' 'stonishin' 'twas to me, an' how findin' so much fishin' in it kinder helped me unnerstan' an' bleeve it every mite, an' take it right hum to me to foller an' live up to 's long 's I live an' breathe. Did j'ever think on it, reely? I tell ye, his r'liging's a fishin' r'liging all through. His friends was fishin' folks; his pulpit was a fishin' boat, or the shore o' the lake; he loved the ponds an' streams; an' when his d'sciples went out fishin', if he didn't go hisself with 'em, he'd go a'ter 'em, walkin' on the water, to cheer 'em up an' comfort 'em.

"An' he was allers 'round the water; for the story'll say, 'he come to the sea-shore,' or 'he begun to teach by the sea-side,' or agin, 'he entered into a boat,' an' 'he was in the stern o' the boat, asleep.'

"An' he used fish in his mir'cles. He fed that crowd o' folks on fish when they was hungry, bought 'em from a little chap on the shore. I've oft'n thought how dreffle tickled that boy must 'a' been to have him take them fish. Mebbe they wa'n't nothin' but shiners, but the fust the little feller'd ever ketched, an' boys sot a heap on their fust ketch. He was dreffle good to child'en, ye know. An' who'd he come to a'ter he'd died an' ris agin? Why, he come down to the shore 'fore daylight, an' looked off over the pond to where his ole frien's was a-fishin'. Ye see they'd gone out jest to quiet their minds an' keep up their sperrits; ther's nothin' like fishin' for that, ye know, an' they'd been in a heap o' trubble. When they was settin' up the night afore, worryin' an' wond'rin' an' s'misin' what was goin' ter become on 'em without their master, Peter'd got kinder desprit, an' he up an' says in his quick way, says he, 'Anyway, I'm goin' a-fishin'.' An' they all see the sense on it—any fisherman would—an' they says, says they, 'We'll go 'long too.' But they didn't ketch anythin'. I suppose they couldn't fix their minds on it, an' everythin' went wrong like. But when mornin' come creepin' up over the mountings, fust thin' they knowed they see him on the bank, an' he called out to 'em to know if they'd ketched anythin'. The water jest run down my cheeks when I heerd the min'ster tell that, an' it kinder makes my eyes wet every time I think on't. For 't seems 's if it might 'a' been me in that boat, who heern that v'ice I loved so dreffle well, speak up agin so nat'ral from the bank there. An' he eat some o' their fish! O' course he done it to sot their

minds easy, to show 'em he wa'n't quite a sperrit yit, but jest their own ole frien' who'd been out in the boat with 'em so many, many times. But seems to me, jest the fac' he done it kinder makes fish an' fishin' diffunt from any other thing in the hull airth. I tell ye them four books that gin his story is chock full o' things that go right to the heart o' fishermen. Nets, an' hooks, an' boats, an' the shores, an' the sea, an' the mountings, Peter's fishin'-coat, lilies, an' sparrers, an' grass o' the fields, an' all about the evenin' sky bein' red or lowerin', an' fair or foul weather.

"It's an out-doors, woodsy, country story, 'sides bein' the heav'n-liest one that was ever telled. I read the hull Bible, as a duty ye know. I read the epis'les, but somehow they don't come home to me. Paul was a great man, a dreffle smart scholar, but he was raised in the city, I guess, an' when I go from the gospels into Paul's writin's it's like goin' from the woods an' hills an' streams o' Francony into the streets of a big city like Concord or Manch'ster."

The old man did not say much of his after life and the fruits of this strange conversion, but his neighbors told us a great deal. They spoke of his unselfishness, his charity, his kindly deeds; told of his visiting the poor and unhappy, nursing the sick. They said the little children loved him, and every one in the village and for miles around trusted and leaned upon Fishin' Jimmy. He taught the boys to fish, sometimes the girls too; and while learning to cast and strike, to whip the stream, they drank in knowledge of higher things, and came to know and love Jimmy's "fishin' r'liging." I remember they told me of a little French Canadian girl, a poor, wretched waif, whose mother, an unknown tramp, had fallen dead in the road near the village. The child, an untamed little heathen, was found clinging to her mother's body in an agony of grief and rage, and fought like a tiger when they tried to take her away. A boy in the little group attracted to the spot ran away, with a child's faith in his old friend, to summon Fishin' Jimmy. He came quickly, lifted the little savage tenderly, and carried her away.

No one witnessed the taming process, but in a day or two the pair were seen together on the margin of Black Brook, each with a fish pole. Her dark face was bright with interest and excitement as she took her first lesson in the art of angling. She jabbered and chattered in her odd patois, he answered in broadest New England dialect, but the two quite understood each other, and though Jimmy said afterward that it was "dreffle to hear her call the fish pois'n',"

they were soon great friends and comrades. For weeks he kept and cared for the child, and when she left him for a good home in Bethlehem, one would scarcely have recognized in the gentle, affectionate girl the wild creature of the past. Though often questioned as to the means used to effect this change, Jimmy's explanation seemed rather vague and unsatisfactory. "'Twas fishin' done it," he said; "on'y fishin'; it allers works. The Christian r'liging itself had to begin with fishin', ye know."

But one thing troubled Fishin' Jimmy. He wanted to be a "fisher of men." That was what the Great Teacher had promised he would make the fishermen who left their boats to follow him. What strange, literal meaning he attached to the terms, we could not tell. In vain we—especially the boys, whose young hearts had gone out in warm affection to the old man—tried to show him that he was, by his efforts to do good and make others better and happier, fulfilling the Lord's directions. He could not understand it so. "I allers try to think," he said, "that 'twas me in that boat when he come along. I make b'l'ëve that it was out on Streeter's Pond, an' I was settin' in the boat, fixin' my lan'in' net, when I see him on the shore. I think mebbe I'm that James—for that's my given name, ye know, though they allers call me Jimmy—an' then I hear him callin' me 'James, James.' I can hear him jest 's plain sometimes, when the wind's blowin' in the trees, an' I jest ache to up an' foller him. But says he, 'I'll make ye a fisher o' men,' an' he aint done it. I'm waitin'; mebbe he'll larn me some day."

He was fond of all living creatures, merciful to all. But his love for our dog Dash became a passion, for Dash was an angler. Who that ever saw him sitting in the boat beside his master, watching with eager eye, and whole body trembling with excitement, the line as it was cast, the flies as they touched the surface—who can forget old Dash? His fierce excitement at rise of trout, the efforts at self-restraint, the disappointment if the prey escaped, the wild exultation if it was captured, how plainly—he who runs might read—were shown these emotions in eye, in ear, in tail, in whole quivering body! What wonder that it all went straight to the fisher's heart of Jimmy! "I never knowed afore they could be Christians," he said, looking, with tears in his soft, keen eyes, at the every-day scene, and with no faintest thought of irreverence. "I never knowed it, but I'd give a stiffikit o' membership in the orthodoxest church goin' to that dog there."

It is almost needless to say that as years went on Jimmy came to know many "fishin' min'sters," for there are many of that ilk who love our mountain country, and seek it yearly. All these knew and loved the old man. And there were others who had wandered by that sea of Galilee, and fished in the waters of the Holy Land, and with them Fishin' Jimmy dearly loved to talk. But his wonder was never-ending that in the scheme of evangelizing the world more use was not made of the "fishin' side" of the story. "Haint they ever tried it on them poor heathen?" he would ask earnestly of some clerical angler casting a fly upon the clear water of pond or brook. "I should think 'twould 'a' ben the fust thing they'd done. Fishin' fust, an' r'liging's sure to foller. An' it's so easy; fur heath'n mostly r'sides on islands, don't they? So ther's plenty o' water, an' o' course ther's fishin'; an' oncet gin 'em poles an' git 'em to work, an' they're out o' mischief fur that day. They'd like it better'n cannib'ling, or cuttin' out idles, or scratchin' picters all over theirselves, an' bimeby—not too suddent, ye know, to scare 'em—ye could begin on that story, an' they couldn't stan' that, not a heath'n on 'em. Won't ye speak to the 'Merican Board about it, an' sen' out a few fishin' mishneries, with poles an' lines an' tackle gen'ally? I've tried it on dreffle bad folks, an' it allers done 'em good. But"—so almost all his simple talk ended—"I wish I could begin to be a fisher o' men. I'm gettin' on now, I'm nigh seventy, an' I aint got much time, ye see."

One afternoon in July there came over Franconia Notch one of those strangely sudden tempests which sometimes visit that mountain country. It had been warm that day, unusually warm for that refreshingly cool spot; but suddenly the sky grew dark and darker, almost to blackness, there was roll of thunder and flash of lightning, and then poured down the rain—rain at first, but soon hail in large frozen bullets, which fiercely pelted any who ventured out-doors, rattled against the windows of the Profile House with sharp cracks like sounds of musketry, and lay upon the piazza in heaps like snow. And in the midst of the wild storm it was remembered that two boys, guests at our hotel, had gone up Mount Lafayette alone that day. They were young boys, unused to mountain climbing, and their friends were anxious. It was found that Dash had followed them; and just as some one was to be sent in search of them, a boy from the stables brought the information that Fishin' Jimmy had started up the mountain after them as the storm broke.

"Said if he couldn't be a fisher o' men, mebbe he knowed 'nuff to ketch boys," went on our informant, seeing nothing more in the speech, full of pathetic meaning to us who knew him, than the idle talk of one whom many considered "lackin'." Jimmy was old now, and had of late grown very feeble, and we did not like to think of him out in that wild storm. And now suddenly the lost boys themselves appeared through the opening in the woods opposite the house, and ran in through the hail, now falling more quietly. They were wet, but no worse apparently for their adventure, though full of contrition and distress at having lost sight of the dog. He had rushed off into the woods some hours before, after a rabbit or hedgehog, and had never returned. Nor had they seen Fishin' Jimmy.

As hours went by and the old man did not return, a search party was sent out, and guides familiar with all the mountain paths went up Lafayette to seek for him. It was nearly night when they at last found him, and the grand old mountains had put on those robes of royal purple which they sometimes assume at eventide. At the foot of a mass of rock, which looked like amethyst or wine-red agate in that marvellous evening light, the old man was lying, and Dash was with him. From the few faint words Jimmy could then gasp out, the truth was gathered. He had missed the boys, leaving the path by which they had returned, and while stumbling along in search of them, feeble and weary, he had heard far below a sound of distress. Looking down over a steep, rocky ledge, he had seen his friend and fishing comrade, old Dash, in sore trouble. Poor Dash! He never dreamed of harming his old friend, for he had a kind heart. But he was a sad coward in some matters, and a very baby when frightened and away from master and friends. So I fear he may have assumed the rôle of wounded sufferer when in reality he was but scared and lonesome. He never owned this afterward, and you may be sure we never let him know by word or look the evil he had done. Jimmy saw him holding up one paw helplessly and looking at him with wistful, imploring brown eyes; heard his pitiful, whimpering cry for aid, and never doubted his great distress and peril. Was Dash not a fisherman? And fishermen, in Fishin' Jimmy's category, were always true and trusty. So the old man without a second's hesitation started down the steep, smooth decline to the rescue of his friend.

We do not know just how or where in that terrible descent he fell. To us who afterward saw the spot, and thought of the weak old

man, chilled by the storm, exhausted by his exertions, and yet clambering down that precipitous cliff, made more slippery and treacherous by the sleet and hail still falling, it seemed impossible that he could have kept a foothold for an instant. Nor am I sure that he expected to save himself, and Dash too. But he tried. He was sadly hurt. I will not tell you of that.

Looking out from the hotel windows through the gathering darkness, we who loved him—it was not a small group—saw a sorrowful sight. Flickering lights thrown by the lanterns of the guides came through the woods. Across the road, slowly, carefully, came strong men, bearing on a rough, hastily made litter of boughs the dear old man. All that could have been done for the most distinguished guest, for the dearest, best-beloved friend, was done for the gentle fisherman. We, his friends, and proud to style ourselves thus, were of different, widely separated lands, greatly varying creeds. Some were nearly as old as the dying man, some in the prime of manhood. There were youths, and maidens, and little children. But through the night we watched together. The old Roman bishop, whose calm, benign face we all know and love; the Churchman, ascetic in faith, but with the kindest, most indulgent heart when one finds it; the gentle old Quakeress with placid, unwrinkled brow and silvery hair; Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist—we were all one that night. The old angler did not suffer—we were so glad of that! But he did not appear to know us, and his talk seemed strange. It rambled on quietly, softly, like one of his own mountain brooks, babbling of green fields, of sunny summer days, of his favorite sport, and ah, of other things. But he was not speaking to us. A sudden, awed hush and thrill came over us as, bending to catch the low words, we all at once understood what only the bishop put into words as he said, half to himself, in a sudden, quickly broken whisper, “God bless the man, he’s talking to his Master!”

“Yes, sir, that’s so,” went on the quiet voice; “’twas on’y a dog sure ’nough; ’twa’n’t even a boy, as ye say, an’ ye ask me to be a fisher o’ men. But I haint had no chance for that, somehow; mebbe I wa’n’t fit for’t. I’m on’y jest a poor old fisherman, Fishin’ Jimmy, ye know, sir. Ye useter call me James—no one else ever done it. On’y a dog? But he wa’n’t jest a common dog, sir; he was a fishin’ dog. I never seed a man love fishin’ mor’n Dash.” The dog was in the room, and heard his name. Stealing to the bedside, he put a cold nose into the cold hand of his old friend, and no one had the heart

to take him away. The touch turned the current of the old man's talk for a moment, and he was fishing again with his dog friend. "See 'em break, Dashy! See 'em break! Lots on 'em to-day, aint they? Keep still, there's a good dog, while I put on a diffunt fly. Don't ye see they're jumpin' at them gnats? Aint the water jest 'live with 'em? Aint it shinin' an' clear an'——" The voice faltered an instant, then went on: "Yes, sir, I'm comin'—I'm glad, dreffle glad to come. Don't mind 'bout my leavin' my fishin'; do ye think I care 'bout that? I'll jest lay down my pole ahin' the alders here, an' put my lan'in' net on the stuns, with my flies, an' tackle—the boys 'll like 'em, ye know—an' I'll be right along.

"I mos' knowed ye was on'y a-tryin' me when ye said that 'bout how I hadn't been a fisher o' men, nor even boys, on'y a dog. 'Twas a—fishin' dog—ye know—an' ye was allers dreffle good to fishermen—dreffle good to—everybody;—died—for—'em; didn't ye?——

"Please wait—on—the—bank there, a minnit; I'm comin' 'crost. Water's pretty—cold this—spring—an' the stream's risin'—but—I—can—do it—don't ye mind—'bout—me, sir. I'll—get—acrost." Once more the voice ceased, and we thought we should not hear it again this side that stream.

But suddenly a strange light came over the thin face, the soft gray eyes opened wide, and he cried out with a strong voice we had so often heard come ringing out to us across the mountain streams, above the sound of their rushing: "Here I be, sir! It's Fishin' Jimmy, ye know, from Francony way; him ye useter call James when ye come 'long the shore o' the pond an' I was a-fishin'. I heern ye agin, jest now—an' I—straightway—f'sook—my—nets—an'—folded——"

Had the voice ceased utterly? No, we could catch faint, low murmurs, and the lips still moved. But the words were not for us; and we did not know when he reached the other bank.

ANNIE TRUMBULL SLOSSON.

CRITICISMS, NOTES, AND REVIEWS.

SHIP-CANALS AT THE AMERICAN ISTHMUS.

EVEN in these days of large enterprises we do not find a parallel of the condition of affairs at the American isthmus. Two colossal undertakings having the same end in view are being pushed forward at the same time, and this when the costs are matter of conjecture, the difficulties to be encountered are to a great extent unknown, and the returns to be expected cannot be predicted. The statement that a ship-canal across the isthmus would be a benefit to the commerce of all nations has not been disputed. That a canal of reasonable cost would be a financial success, earning enough to pay the expenses of operation and maintenance and a dividend to the stockholders, seems quite certain. The beginning of active operations by the promoters of the Nicaragua Inter-oceanic Canal, at a time when the Panama Company is well nigh crushed under its financial burden, may be wondered at, but reason for their action is found in the condition of affairs at Panama.

In 1877-78 Lieutenant Wyse, acting for the *Société Civile Internationale du Canal Interocéanique*, secured from the Government of the United States of Colombia a concession for a ship-canal across the American isthmus between certain limits. Within these limits the only feasible route is the one nearly coincident with that adopted by Stephens and Baldwin in 1849 for the Panama Railway. Wyse and his companions made a partial survey of this route, hastened to Paris, and succeeded in inducing M. de Lesseps to father their scheme. The International Scientific Congress was convened, and it, by proper manipulation, was made to declare a sea-level canal at Panama the most practicable way of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The estimate of the cost was given as \$86,000,000, and the work was to be finished in 1888. The concession that Wyse had secured and the results of his surveys were transferred to a new company for a consideration of \$2,000,000, and M. de Lesseps began his well-known juggling operations with the surveys and estimates, including the formation of the International Technical Commission of 1880, and its report.

The Panama Canal Company was definitely organized in March, 1881, and work at the isthmus was begun during the fall months of that year. Of the character of this work it may be said that the expenses of administration are excessive, that contracts are made loosely, and contractors allowed to do very much as they please, that large and difficult portions of the work are

undertaken without adequate forethought, and that no plans have been made for some of the most important features of the undertaking. The face value of the stock thus far issued is more than three times the amount of the original, and only about one-fourth of the work has been done. The methods of administration and procedure give strong ground for the feeling that the enterprise will collapse and the money contributed be a total loss.

The enterprise at Nicaragua is not so far advanced, but the probabilities of success are much greater. Ever since the Spaniards made surveys of the country in the sixteenth century, the neighborhood of Lake Nicaragua has been looked upon as a possible location for an interoceanic canal, and the general opinion of competent judges is that this route is the most feasible. During the past forty years many surveys have been made by engineers, and at last a company has been organized, and a large party sent to make a detailed location of the work and to prepare the line for the actual operations of construction. The estimated cost is \$65,000,000, including twenty-five per cent. for surveys, hospitals, and contingencies; and it is expected that the canal will be ready to receive traffic in 1892. Whether the estimate of the cost and the time allowed for construction will be sufficient for the purpose cannot be foretold, but in making the calculations Engineer Menocal has been able to use the figures from many surveys previous to his own, and has had the experience at Panama as a guide in the determination of the actual cost of work. In what has thus far been accomplished there is evident an honest effort to do the work on sound engineering principles and in accordance with rational financial methods.

In the matter of situation the Nicaragua project is more fortunate than the more southern one. At Panama the average annual rainfall is 120 inches, most of it falling during the rainy season. The plans for controlling this large amount of surface water are not yet completed, and if matured and carried out successfully, will add seriously to the cost of the undertaking. At Nicaragua, while the rainfall is large, the broad lake acts as a storage reservoir to moderate the effects of the excessive rains, and the narrowness of the valley of the San Juan and the large body of water in the river combine to reduce to a minimum the effects of freshets. Nicaragua is, undoubtedly, less unhealthful than Panama, but at both places strict sanitary supervision is required. The question of the lengths of the lines of communication by the two canals involves the consideration of the length of time occupied by sailing vessels, as well as the number of miles traversed. In this regard the Nicaragua canal has an undoubted advantage over its rival. Not only does its more northerly situation decrease the distance between ports on the Atlantic and ports on the Pacific coasts of the United States by 700 or 800 miles, but its position outside of the belt of calms on the Atlantic side and north of the doldrums on the Pacific, causes a saving to sailing vessels of more than a week on each side of the isthmus. This saving will much more than counterbalance the extra time required for the passage through the longer canal at Nicaragua; and the

greater certainty in estimating the length of time required for a voyage will be a decided advantage.

The control of an interoceanic ship-canal across the American isthmus is a matter of great importance to the Government and people of the United States. When constructed it will undoubtedly be the route for a large commerce between the Atlantic and the Pacific States, and, if the expectations of the promoters of the canal schemes are realized, the larger part of this traffic will belong to residents of the United States and be carried by their vessels. In times of peace, as well as in the event of war, it would afford the natural route for transport in naval and military operations. These considerations make it desirable that our Government should procure for our commerce a reduction of charges, and should secure a position to control the canal in time of war. Neither of these has been done. In the concession to the Panama Company the Colombian Government guarantees the neutrality of the canal and makes provision for its own commerce, ignoring the treaty of 1846-48, which provided for the equality of the citizens of the two countries. For the Nicaragua line the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 still hold, notwithstanding the many discussions. By it England and the United States are put on an equal footing, and would probably unite to guarantee the neutrality of the canal. This position of the United States is the result of our diplomatic methods, which, in matters connected with the canal question, have been inferior to those of England and France, besides being hampered and modified by party questions and local interests.

AMERICA'S SHARE IN A FRENCH CELEBRATION.

AMONG recent publications in France, none is of greater value to the student of American history than the *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*, by Henry Doniol, Director of the National Printing Bureau at Paris. This work, composed from diplomatic correspondence and other documents in the French archives relating to the rebellion of the English colonies in America and the establishment of American freedom, is intended as a typographical monument for the centenary of the French Revolution, in 1889. Two large quarto volumes, executed in magnificent style as respects paper and printing, have already appeared, and three more are to follow. Thanks to M. Doniol, who has performed his task with great fidelity and conscientiousness, we have fresh information on this important historical episode.

There are two sides to the history of American independence, the American and the French. The people of the United States know something of the former, and a very little of the latter; while the French know scarcely anything of either, their ignorance being due, probably, to the overwhelming interest of the Revolution of '89, which came so soon after the establishment of American independence. It is true that French history records the influ-

ence on the French mind of the American struggle for liberty. Mirabeau, the Girondists, and the Jacobin demagogues often alluded to it in their political speeches ; while various monographs on the subject, with biographies of the great actors in the Revolution, Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and others, as well as travels in the country at the time, like those of Chastellux, have since been published : but nowhere, so far, can any serious, exhaustive study of the Revolution be found in French, according to the voluminous details of it existing in the French archives. In America a knowledge of the Revolutionary War is, of course, more extensive than in France, but it is about as one-sided, since most American historians, to say nothing of their prejudices, favoritism, and, we may add, idealism, have relied too exclusively on local documents. Even when this has not been the case, the use of foreign material has sometimes rendered the stream of national history more turbid than it was before. M. Doniol's work serves to clarify this stream and to remove many obscurities.

A few indications of the nature of this purification of our history show in what sense M. Doniol's work is valuable. For example, one popular notion prevalent amongst us, is that the help which the French gave us in the Revolution was wholly due to Lafayette. This is not exact. Without in any way derogating from the great value of Lafayette's influence and example, M. Doniol furnishes documents which prove that the idea of assisting the American insurgents originated with the Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis XVI., and the pilot of the whole affair, as far as France was concerned, to the end. France came out of the Seven Years' War, in 1763, humiliated by England, with her navy destroyed, and subject to the galling right which the English then exercised, of overhauling and examining the vessels of other nations on the high seas. As early as 1774, on the beginning of the agitation against the mother country in the American colonies, Vergennes, seeing that it was to be serious, proposed to Louis XVI. to take advantage of it and cripple England, even at the risk of a conflict with her should events render war necessary. By so doing France would recover its lost prestige in Europe, and the arbitrary exercise of power by England on the seas would be curtailed. Vergennes's first object, accordingly, was to secure the coöperation of Spain, whose possessions in America were involved in the risk. The negotiations for this purpose with the Spanish Government were long and substantially fruitless, but it is essential to understand them, because only through them can many of the obstacles in the way of parties interested in the American cause in France be explained. M. Doniol quotes largely from the diplomatic correspondence between the French and Spanish governments, and cites the memorials of Vergennes, all of which leave no doubt on the mind that the help which France furnished during our Revolution was primarily due to the efforts of the latter.

The next point on which M. Doniol throws fresh light is in relation to Beaumarchais. It appears that the versatile author of the *Marriage of*

Figaro was a capable and useful instrument in the hands of the Count de Vergennes, and much more influential than is generally supposed. He was a very early, warm, and intelligent advocate of American interests, and exceedingly able in the management of everything intrusted to him. His services in England and elsewhere, as a secret diplomatic agent, the arguments and facts he furnishes to his patron in support of particular undertakings, the political advice he gives in his correspondence, the measures he recommends, his negotiations and devices in behalf of the Americans, all show that this curious character was remarkably clever. He was sagacious, energetic, and practical. He seems, as we would say, to have been well posted on American affairs and to have readily understood what was most needed there. Finding that the insurgents required military engineers, he urged Vergennes to send them, declaring that the Americans had plenty of pluck but lacked science. The alliance finally concluded between France and the American Congress was literally carried out according to a protocol prepared and recommended by Beaumarchais months before the treaty was signed. Vergennes's policy, pending the Spanish negotiations, was to aid the Americans secretly, at the same time maintaining peaceful relations with England as long as possible. In this secret service Beaumarchais was at once the "Government" and the scapegoat; he was to act on his own responsibility, and suffer if caught. When the English, through their spies, learned that he was despatching vessels and munitions of war to the rebels, in violation of treaties and of international law, they obliged Vergennes to stop these proceedings and to discountenance him. The effect was to make him the butt of attack by French officers enlisted in the American cause, and especially of the American Commissioners, in whose interests he was really acting. Silas Deane was particularly indignant. Denounced as a private speculator by these parties and yet obliged to mask the intentions of the Government, compelled to keep a diplomatic secret and at the same time disabuse the mind of his patron of charges made against him by his enemies and due to apparent indiscretions, he needed no less of patience than of skill and courage. It is probably due to the machinations of Du Coudray, an ambitious engineer, that Franklin was prejudiced against him.

This secret policy of Vergennes, again, accounts for the apparent attempt of the French Government to prevent Lafayette's departure for America, a show of opposition merely intended to throw dust in the eyes of the English Ministry. The Marquis de Noailles, one of Lafayette's relatives, was then French Minister at the Court of St. James, and to allow Lafayette to embark for America would not only have compromised him, but probably contributed to an immediate declaration of war.

Another interesting particular which M. Doniol brings out is the constant fear of Vergennes and the French Ministry that England might offer such terms of peace to the colonies as to lead them to lay down their arms and form an alliance against France. This fear did not subside until the Revolution was almost over, and then, under the sagacious reports

and management of Gérard de Rayneval, the French Minister sent to the United States after the open rupture with England.

Our limited space forbids extended illustrations of the value of M. Doniol's work. Many interesting facts are given in relation to Lafayette, De Kalb, Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, and even Franklin, which have not formerly appeared in print. M. Doniol clearly shows that Frederick II. of Prussia was in no respect a special friend or advocate of the American colonies; but that the object of this monarch in all his allusions to America was simply the abasement of England, and to open up commercial relations with the United States when independent.

The volumes which are to follow will be still more entertaining, containing details of the Revolution from a French point of view, derived from the correspondence of its Ministers Plenipotentiary in the United States, who reported weekly, sometimes even oftener, on the events of the day, and whose letters are now on file in the French archives.

THE PROBLEM OF LIFE.

ON this topic two interesting books have recently appeared. The first, bearing the title of *Ænigma Vitæ*,* is from the veteran pen of John Wilson, and contains some very profound thought, expressed in a style of great beauty. The underlying concept of the book is the philosophical interpretation of Christianity as containing the only efficient antidote to the isolating individualism of the day. Only in unity with the universal does the individual ego realize its true being. Or, to express the same thought in terms of religion, only in its unity with Christ, only in absorption in him, can the individual soul realize its true and satisfying life. Christianity thus embodies the profoundest philosophy, since its central fact is the unity of the human and the divine in Christ. This gives it a power possessed by no other scheme of life to satisfy the deepest soul-needs of humanity. The author then proceeds to trace, in his fascinating way, the ideal progress of the ego from the first dawn of its conscious life, step by step through stages of isolation and self-assertion, up to the supreme moment when it finds its complete finite good in self-surrender to the infinite Christ.

The second work, entitled *The Gist of It*,† is the first literary venture of a young author, Rev. Thomas E. Barr, of Beloit, Wisconsin. It originated, he says in his preface, "in the author's efforts to find for himself sure footing in the shifting, conflicting phases of modern thought, and determine a satisfactory explanation and scheme of life-activity." The discussion falls into two parts, the first treating of the *facts* of life, the second of their

* *Ænigma Vitæ*. By John Wilson, M.A., pp. ix., 254. London, 1887: Hodder & Stoughton.

† *The Gist of It*. By Rev. Thomas E. Barr, B.A., pp. xxxiii., 350. New York, 1887: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

explanation. Under these heads the author presents a comprehensive array of the facts and considerations which bear on the life problem in its various aspects. The interpretation of the facts is treated all too briefly in the last fifty-seven pages of the volume. The various schemes which men ordinarily propose—happiness, wealth, fame, power, and self-culture—are passed in review, and their insufficiency to satisfy the needs of the soul briefly but forcibly pointed out. Only in Christianity can a satisfactory interpretation of the riddle of life be found. The book was not written for specialists, but rather for that large class of intelligent and thoughtful young men and women on whom the practical questions of life are pressing for solution. To these it can be commended as a book well worthy of their perusal; and others more advanced in living and thinking may find its discussions to be not without helpful suggestions.

BOOKS RECEIVED,

Of which there may be critical notice hereafter.

- ARMSTRONG.—*Five-Minute Sermons to Children*, pp. 203. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- BRADLEY.—*The Goths*, the Story of the Nations Series, pp. xxii., 376. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- BUCK.—*Law and Limitation of our Lord's Miracles*. New York: Phillips & Hunt.
- CLARK.—*Witnesses to Christ*, pp. 300. Chicago, 1888: A. C. McClurg & Co.
- CRANE.—*The Æneid of Virgil*, translated literally, pp. xxviii., 258. New York, 1888: The Baker & Taylor Co.
- CURRY.—*The Book of Job*, pp. x., 302. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- DORCHESTER.—*Christianity in the United States*, pp. 795. New York, 1888: Phillips & Hunt.
- DYER.—*Six Sermons on Leading New Church Doctrines*, pp. 79. New York, 1887: 20 Cooper Union.
- HAMILL.—*New Science of Elocution*, pp. 382. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- HOLCOMBE.—*Condensed Thoughts about Christian Science*, pp. 53. Chicago, 1887: Purdy Publishing Co.
- INGE.—*Society in Rome under the Cæsars*, pp. viii., 276. New York, 1888: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- LADD.—*What is the Bible?* pp. xiv., 497. New York, 1888: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Lomb Prize Essays*, I., II., III., IV. New York: The American News Co.
- PEARSE.—*Some Aspects of the Blessed Life*, pp. 222. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- PHOEBUS.—*Young Folks' Nature Studies*, pp. v., 258. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- Lost on an Island*, pp. 216. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- PORTER.—*Self-Reliance Encouraged*, pp. 280. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1885-86*, pp. xxi., 792. Washington, 1887: The Government Printing Office.
- RICHMOND.—*Woman, First and Last*, 2 vols., pp. 271, 300. New York, 1887: Phillips & Hunt.
- STUCKENBERG.—*Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, pp. ix., 422. New York, 1888: A. C. Armstrong & Son.
- SWEDENBORG.—*The Soul*, translated and edited by Frank Sewall, A.M., pp. xxvi, 388. New York, 1887: New Church Board of Publication.
- THOMPSON.—*The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind*, pp. viii., 176. London and New York, 1888: Longmans, Green & Co.
- TODD.—*The Story of the City of New York*, pp. xvi., 478. New York and London, 1888: G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- TUTTLE.—*History of Prussia under Frederic the Great*, 2 vols., pp. xxiv., 308; xii., 334. Boston and New York, 1888: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- VALDÉS.—*Maximina*, pp. 390. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
- WHITE.—*European Schools of History and Politics*, pp. 89. Baltimore, 1887: Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.
- WINN.—*Property in Land*, pp. 73. New York and London, 1888: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

RECORD.

POLITICAL AND GENERAL.

DOMESTIC.

THE ADMINISTRATION.—The principal events in connection with the ADMINISTRATION during the past six months have been the PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, with the discussion provoked by it, and the controversy over the nomination of the HON. L. Q. C. LAMAR, Secretary of the Interior, to be an ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT of the United States. Mr. Cleveland's Message was the shortest sent to Congress for years, and, instead of reviewing the "state of the Union," was entirely devoted to a CONSIDERATION OF THE TARIFF AND THE SURPLUS REVENUE. An abstract of the message will be found under CONGRESS. The document at once started a lively political discussion, and really opened the Presidential canvass. By most of the Republican press it was denounced as a free-trade appeal, and it was generally accepted as fixing the issue on which the coming Presidential campaign is to be fought. The Democrats and Independents contended that the policy advocated by the President would be a wise and moderate step in the direction of needed tariff reform, and that an immediate reduction of the surplus was demanded.—On December 6 the President sent to the Senate the nominations of SECRETARY LAMAR to be ASSOCIATE JUSTICE, of POSTMASTER-GENERAL VILAS to be SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, and of DON M. DICKINSON of Michigan to be POSTMASTER-GENERAL. The nomination of Mr. Lamar aroused a storm of disapproval on the part of the opposition press. The Secretary was accused of being a "rebel," of having refused to give assent to the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Amendments to the Constitution, and of not having had sufficient experience as a lawyer to justify his elevation to a seat on the bench of our highest court. It was also alleged that he did not possess a judicial mind, and that once in a Mississippi court he lost his temper to such an extent that he made a personal attack on a United States marshal. The Senate was very slow in taking action upon the nomination. Before the matter came to a vote it was pretty well understood that enough Republican votes could be depended on to make the confirmation certain. Mr. LAMAR RESIGNED as Secretary of the Interior on January 7, and on

the same day a letter was written by Senator Stewart (Republican) of Nevada, setting forth his reasons for having decided to vote in favor of confirmation. Finally, on January 16, the Senate took up the case and Mr. LAMAR WAS CONFIRMED by a vote of 32 to 28, Messrs. Stewart and Stanford (Republicans) and Mr. Riddleberger (Independent) voting with the Democrats in the majority. Strong speeches against confirmation were made in secret session by Senators Edmunds, Hoar, Evarts, Sherman, and Hawley. There were no speeches on the Democratic side.—On the same day Messrs. VILAS and DICKINSON WERE ALSO CONFIRMED.—THE PRESIDENT, who set out, September 30, for a TOUR OF THE WEST AND SOUTH, returned to Washington, October 22, after visiting Indianapolis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Madison (Wisconsin), St. Paul, Minneapolis, Sioux City, St. Joseph, Kansas City, Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Montgomery (Alabama), and Asheville (North Carolina). Everywhere he was greeted by large crowds; in Atlanta the enthusiasm was especially noticeable.—THE FRICTION BETWEEN SECRETARY LAMAR AND COMMISSIONER SPARKS, of the Land Office, came to an issue November 11, when Mr. Sparks wrote a letter to the Secretary criticising some of the latter's land decisions in a way offensive to Mr. Lamar. The Secretary in reply said that the President must either appoint a new Secretary of the Interior or a new Commissioner of the Land Office. Mr. Sparks, on November 15, PLACED HIS RESIGNATION in the hands of the President, and it was accepted two days later.—STROTHER M. STOCKSLAGER, of Indiana, was appointed Commissioner of the Land Office on March 20.—On November 18 GEORGE L. RIVES, of New York, was appointed First Assistant Secretary of State.—On January 12 Gen. EDWARD S. BRAGG, of Wisconsin, was appointed Minister to Mexico, to succeed the late Thomas C. Manning.—THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY showed the surplus in the Treasury to be \$55,258,701. The receipts were \$371,403,277, of which \$217,286,893 was from customs and \$118,823,391 from internal revenues. The expenses were \$315,835,428; the largest items being \$75,029,101 for pensions, \$38,561,025 for military expenses and rivers and harbors, \$47,741,577 for interest, and \$47,903,248 for the sink-

ing fund. The increase in receipts over the fiscal year 1886 was \$34,963,550. The increase in customs receipts was, in round numbers, \$240,000; from internal taxes, \$2,000,000; and from the sales of public lands and the profits on the coinage, \$3,000,000 each. The increase in expenditures was \$25,449,041, of which over \$11,000,000 was for pensions. The decrease in the interest on the public debt was nearly \$3,000,000. For the present fiscal year the revenues, actual and estimated, are \$383,000,000, and the total expenditures, including sinking fund, \$316,817,785; estimated surplus, \$66,182,214.—According to the REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, the only armament on the entire Atlantic coastline of 2,870 miles and the northern frontier of 3,530 miles is 142 rifled guns, of which 116 are obsolete and of very low power. He approved the recommendation of GENERAL SHERIDAN that the General Government should extend all POSSIBLE AID TO THE NATIONAL GUARD in the several States.—SECRETARY WHITNEY OF THE NAVY, in his report, said that, with the exception of two cases, the Department had practically abandoned the idea of the unprotected torpedo-boat, but he recommended the continuance of experiments in submarine boats. He opposed any further appropriations for work on the single-turreted monitors. He advised the construction of five new ships: two armor-clad vessels, to cost, exclusive of armament, not more than \$6,000,000, one to be built by contract and one in the navy-yards, and three more fast cruisers of the highest type. In six years, he said, only four of the present cruising ships will remain serviceable, that is, the old navy will have disappeared. Encouragement of torpedo experiments was urged, and it was suggested that the course in the Naval Academy be reduced to four years.—Admiral Porter, in his annual report to the Secretary of the Navy, stated that the following IMPORTANT HARBORS ARE ENTIRELY DEFENCELESS against a single iron-clad: New York, Boston, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington, New Orleans, Baltimore, Norfolk, Hampton Roads, Portland (Maine), Portsmouth (New Hampshire), Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, Galveston, Wilmington (North Carolina), and San Diego (California).—In the ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL it was stated that it might fairly be affirmed that from the beginning of the current fiscal year the postal service had again become substantially self-sustaining. It was also predicted that if the revenues were not further crippled, and only a similar ratio of increasing expenditure maintained, the next fiscal year would yield a surplus, which should, under the same conditions, annually increase; and that the time was not far distant when the rate of letter-postage could properly be reduced to one cent an ounce,

and some reduction made in the postage on merchandise and other matter.—The report of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General showed that the total postal revenue of the year was \$48,837,609 and the total expenditures \$53,133,252. The receipts were 11.1 per cent. greater than during the previous year; the increase of expenditure was at a ratio of only 3.4 per cent.—The President, on October 31, received a deputation from Great Britain who desired to secure his coöperation in securing a treaty between that country and the United States which shall provide for the AMICABLE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY ARBITRATION. Mr. Cleveland expressed cordial sympathy with peaceful methods in the settlement of international disagreements.—The President went to Florida for a short visit on February 21. He visited Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Palatka, and Charleston (South Carolina), and returned to Washington on the 26th.—A NEW TREATY WITH CHINA was signed on March 13. It prohibits the entrance of Chinese labor into this country for twenty years, but allows Chinese having families here, or property of the value of \$1,000 or more, to go to China and return hither on proof of the fact.—The INTER-STATE-COMMERCE COMMISSION, in its first report to the Secretary of the Interior, covering eight months, said that the operation of the Inter-State Act had in general been beneficial; "pooling" had come to an end, and many serious evils had ceased to exist.—Two reports were presented in December by the Commission which investigated the PACIFIC RAILROADS that received aid from the Government. Commissioners Andrews and Littler recommended an extension of the companies' obligations and presented bills effecting a settlement of the debts. That of the Union Pacific was placed at \$50,757,173 and that of the Central Pacific at \$71,792,525. Commissioner Pattison criticised the management of the companies in unmeasured terms, declared that they were bankrupt, and recommended that the Department of Justice begin suits to have them placed in the hands of receivers.

THE WORK OF CONGRESS.—THE FIFTIETH CONGRESS met on December 5. The Senate was almost equally divided politically, Mr. Riddleberger of Virginia holding the balance of power. In the House of Representatives there were 168 Democrats, 153 Republicans, and 4 Independents.—The PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE was read in both Houses on December 6. It was entirely given up to a discussion of the SURPLUS AND THE TARIFF. The most significant sentence in it was this: "IT IS A CONDITION WHICH CONFRONTS US—NOT A THEORY." Mr. Cleveland pointed out that the surplus in the Treasury on December 1 was \$55,258,701.19, and that it was estimated that it would reach \$113,000,000 on June 30, 1888, which,

added to prior accumulations, would swell the surplus to \$140,000,000. He said further: "Our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be AT ONCE REVISED AND AMENDED. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties." He did not propose to relieve the country entirely of this taxation. In a readjustment of our tariff, he said, "the INTERESTS OF AMERICAN LABOR engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the PRESERVATION OF OUR MANUFACTURES." The message opposed the reduction of taxation in such a way as to cause the loss of employment by the laboring man, or the reduction of his wages. Considerable space was devoted to an argument in favor of the REMOVAL OF THE DUTY ON WOOL. The President opposed any reduction in the internal-revenue taxes, because the articles taxed were not, strictly speaking, necessities. A radical reduction in, or the abolition of, duties on raw materials used in manufactures was recommended. — THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES was organized by the election of JOHN G. CARLISLE AS SPEAKER, in spite of the fact that his seat was the subject of a contest brought by Mr. Thobe. The Committee on Elections, under the circumstances, was selected by the House itself, and the Carlisle case was immediately taken up. The Speaker meanwhile began to make up the other committees. The work, however, made exceedingly slow progress, and it was not until January 4 that the committees were announced. — The Committee on Elections, on January 14, refused to reopen the case of Thobe vs. Carlisle, and, on January 20, the House, by a vote of 132 to 125, refused to order an investigation in the case; six Democrats voted in the minority. The majority report of the Committee was to the effect that Carlisle was entitled to his seat; but by absenting themselves, refusing to vote, and other mild forms of filibustering, the Republicans were able, on January 20 and 21, to prevent a quorum from voting, and it was not till the 23d that the report was finally adopted, by a vote of 164 to 7. — THE FIRST BILL PASSED by Congress became a law January 20; it amended the law relating to the Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, by giving the Commissioner a salary of \$5,000, and providing that he should devote all his time to his duties. The President appointed to this office MARSHALL McDONALD. — The Senate, on January 31, passed an AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION extending President Cleveland's term and the duration of the present Congress to April 30, 1889, after which that date was permanently to take the place of March 4 as the beginning and termination of the official term of the President, Vice-President, Senators, and

Representatives. The House, after a long wrangle, on February 20, defeated the proposition. — The Senate, on February 8, postponed the consideration of the TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN until the first Monday in next December. — The well-known BLAIR EDUCATIONAL BILL, appropriating \$79,000,000 to be distributed among the States in proportion to illiteracy, was passed by the Senate, after a prolonged debate, on February 15. The vote was 39 to 29, a decidedly smaller majority than the bill received on the occasion of either of its two previous passages through that body. In the House the bill was referred to a committee. There is no expectation of its passage. — On February 23 the Senate passed a bill to provide for an INTERNATIONAL MARINE CONFERENCE for securing greater safety for life and property at sea. It authorizes the President to invite each maritime nation to send delegates; the conference is to be held in Washington, October 1; the United States will be represented by five delegates; the sum of \$30,000 was appropriated to pay the expense. — An important amendment to the rules of the Senate was made on March 6, when it was decided that TREATIES SHALL BE DISCUSSED IN OPEN SESSION whenever a majority so desire. — On March 13 the Senate adopted a resolution offered by Mr. Hale in December for the appointment of a special committee to examine fully into the condition of the Civil Service. — A NEW DEPENDENT PENSION BILL was passed by the Senate on March 8. It differs from the bill passed in 1887, but vetoed by the President, mainly in requiring "total disability" on the part of the pensioner, while the vetoed bill set no definite limit to the amount of disability that would entitle one to a pension. The essential section of the present measure is as follows: "All persons who served three months or more in the military or naval service of the United States during the War of the Rebellion, and who have been honorably discharged therefrom, and who are now, or who may hereafter be, suffering from mental or physical disability, not the result of their own vicious habits, which totally incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor, and who are without other adequate means of self-support, shall . . . be placed upon the list of invalid pensioners of the United States, and be entitled to receive \$12 per month. . . ." — The number of UNION SOLDIERS SUPPORTED IN GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS in October, 1887, according to a report made by the Pension Commissioner to the House Committee on Invalid Pensions, was 36,953. Of these 15,152 were in soldiers' homes, and 21,801 in State and county institutions, or supported by charitable aid in towns. A large proportion of those in soldiers' homes are already pensioners. — Both houses of Congress have passed a bill authorizing the

PRESIDENT TO ARRANGE A CONFERENCE between the United States and the republics of Mexico, Central and South America, Hayti and St. Domingo, and the Empire of Brazil; the conference is to be held at Washington, in April, 1889, and \$100,000 is appropriated for the expenses.—The House Committee on Rivers and Harbors has prepared a BILL APPROPRIATING NEARLY \$20,000,000 FOR RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS, by far the largest sum ever proposed for this purpose.—A bill giving the widows of General John A. Logan and General F. P. Blair pensions of \$2,000 each has become a law.

REVENUE REFORM.—Three measures intended to READJUST THE TARIFF AND INTERNAL-REVENUE SYSTEMS and REDUCE THE SURPLUS in the Treasury have been prepared in the House of Representatives; but at the time this record closes, April 1, no action upon them has been taken. "A bill to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenue" was drawn up by the Democratic majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, of which Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, is chairman. It is known as the MILLS BILL, and was made public on March 1. It makes substantial additions to the free list, thus reducing the revenue on the basis of the importations for the fiscal year 1887 by about \$28,000,000. These include the repeal of the duties on wool, salt, lumber, flax, hemp, jute, and like fibres, and some of their manufactures; on a considerable number of chemicals, including boracic acid and vegetable dyeing substances; on copper ore, tin plates, cotton ties, paintings and statuary, books printed in foreign languages or published for free distribution, and on dates, plums, prunes, and currants. Many reductions are made in duties on other articles, it being estimated that the decrease in the revenue thereby accomplished would amount to about \$24,000,000.—Mr. Mills and his Democratic associates also drew up a bill affecting the INTERNAL-REVENUE TAXES. It repeals all the taxes on manufactured tobacco and snuff, and reduces the license fees of dealers in tobacco and of manufacturers of cigars. The estimated reduction in the internal revenue is some \$25,000,000 annually. THE ENTIRE REDUCTION IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INCOME from the operation of these two measures would be \$70,000,000 to \$75,000,000.—A BILL PREPARED BY MR. RANDALL (Protectionist Democrat) repeals the entire internal tax on tobacco and on fruit brandies, and also repeals the license tax on wholesale and retail liquor-dealers. It makes alcohol used in the arts free, and reduces the tax on whiskey from ninety cents to fifty cents a gallon. The bill makes what Mr. Randall calls a "careful and complete revision of the whole tariff system." Under this bill the ESTIMATED REDUCTION will be:

on internal taxation repealed, \$70,000,000; on tariff schedules, \$25,000,000.

THE FISHERIES TREATY.—The JOINT COMMISSION appointed by the governments of Great Britain and the United States to SETTLE THE DISPUTE ABOUT THE FISHERIES held its first meeting in Washington, November 21. This country was represented by the Hon. James B. Angell and the Hon. William L. Putnam, acting with Secretary of State Bayard; the British Government by Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., and Sir L. S. Sackville West, British Minister; and Canada by Sir Charles Tupper. The Commission continued its negotiations during several months. On the evening of February 15 a treaty was signed. It was transmitted to the Senate on February 21 by the President, who accompanied it with a message, urging that the treaty be ratified. The first eight articles of the treaty provide that a mixed commission, two members to be named by each Government, shall DELIMIT THE BRITISH WATERS, bays, creeks, and harbors of the coasts of Canada and Newfoundland within which the United States renounced by the treaty of 1818 the liberty to take, dry, or cure fish. Certain named bays are specified within which the right of fishing is not claimed by the United States. It is provided that the delimitation shall be marked on prescribed charts. The headland theory of measurement is abandoned, except as to bays less than ten miles in width. Article IX. provides for the free navigation by our fishing-vessels of the Strait of Canso. Articles X. to XIV. relate to the PRIVILEGES OF AMERICAN FISHING-VESSELS IN CANADIAN PORTS. Such vessels are not required to report, enter, or clear when putting into any bay or harbor for shelter or to repair damages; they may, when under stress of weather or under casualty, unload, reload, transship, or sell all fish on board, when such unloading, transshipment, or sale is made necessary as incidental to repairs; and may replenish outfits, provisions, and supplies damaged or lost by disaster; and in case of death or sickness shall be allowed all needful facilities, including the shipping of crews. Fishing-vessels of Canada and Newfoundland are to have on the Atlantic coast of the United States all the privileges secured by the treaty to our vessels in their waters. The XVth article provides that WHENEVER THE UNITED STATES SHALL REMOVE THE DUTY from fish oil, whale oil, seal oil, and fish of all kinds, except fish preserved in oil, being the produce of Canadian and Newfoundland fisheries, together with the duty on the ordinary coverings and packages, then our FISHERMEN SHALL HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF ENTERING CANADIAN HARBORS for the purchase of provisions, bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits, for the transshipment of their catch, and for the shipping of crews. The treaty

was accompanied by what is called a *MODUS VIVENDI*, which is a temporary arrangement for not more than two years, pending the ratification of the treaty. This provides that during the period mentioned the privileges described in the XVth article of the treaty may be enjoyed by United States fishing-vessels on the payment of a license fee of \$1.50 per ton annually. If during the continuance of this arrangement the duty on fish, fish oil, etc., shall be removed, these licenses are to be issued free of charge.—The President in his message said: "The treaty meets my approval, because I believe that it supplies a SATISFACTORY, PRACTICAL, AND FINAL ADJUSTMENT, upon a basis honorable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates." He recommended that the treaty and all messages and documents relating thereto should be at once made public. The President's suggestion was heeded, and the treaty was published throughout the country on February 22. It did not meet a favorable reception at the hands of Republicans in Congress, or of the Republican press. Senator Frye of Maine, who is supposed more than any one else to speak for the fishermen of the Atlantic coast, made a bitter attack on it in newspaper interviews, declaring that the United States would gain nothing by its ratification.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.—The most important matter concerning the Civil Service was the REVISION OF THE RULES which was promulgated on February 3. Before submitting the amended rules to President Cleveland, the Civil-Service Commission spent nearly a year in preparing the changes. Not one of the original rules was left untouched. The new rules are classified as General, Departmental, Customs, and Postal. A penalty is provided for the use of official authority to coerce political action in any way, and in no examination is any question to be allowed that shall, directly or indirectly, bring out the competitors' religious or political opinions. Compulsory examinations are required for promotions. Any appointing officer may object in writing to all persons certified to him as eligible for any given place, and, if his objections are approved by the Commission, new names may be certified. The new rules reduce the number of eligibles to be certified from four to three. The revision cuts out the maximum age-limit of 45 years in the departments, and raises the minimum age-limit from 18 to 20. The standard for admission to the eligible list is raised from 65 to 70 per cent., except in the case of Army and Navy veterans. The new postal rules prescribe examinations for clerks, carriers, and messengers, in addition to special and non-competitive examinations. The minimum age-limit for carriers is increased from 16 to 21 years, and the maximum from 35 to 40,

while in the general postal service the 45 years maximum limit is expunged, and the minimum raised from 16 to 18. The GENERAL EFFECT OF THE CHANGES is to make the rules more stringent. The only marked criticism to which the revision was subjected was the failure to incorporate a rule requiring the reasons for removals to be filed with the Department. Such a rule was recommended by the majority of the Commission, Mr. Edgerton alone opposing it; but the President refused to sanction it. The new rules went into effect March 1.—The President, on March 21, wrote to the Civil-Service Commission, recommending an EXTENSION OF THE LIMIT OF THE CLASSIFIED SERVICE. He wishes the classification made uniform in the various departments.—In the annual report of the War Department it was stated that the RESULTS OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE EXAMINATIONS for promotion had been SATISFACTORY. The total number of clerks examined was 1,014, of whom 963, or 95 per cent., passed; of this number 353, or 35 per cent., obtained an average above 90 per cent.; 51, or 5 per cent., failed to pass, their average being less than 75 per cent.—The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK, on October 5, unanimously adopted a resolution "heartily approving the letter of COMMISSIONER OBERLY to the Illinois Democratic Association in Washington for its VIGOROUS REBUKE OF SUCH PARTISAN ASSOCIATIONS among employees of the Government, as tending to lead to violation of the Civil-Service law and to promote the abuses which that law was intended to correct, and which the President has strongly condemned."—Just at the close of the year AN IMPORTANT CHANGE was made in the NEW YORK STATE CIVIL-SERVICE COMMISSION. Mr. Schoonmaker had retired from the Commission on being appointed an Inter-State-Commerce Commissioner, and Messrs. Jay and Richmond held their offices under the appointment made by Governor Cleveland. In June last GOVERNOR HILL requested Messrs. JAY AND RICHMOND to resign, but they refused, there being no limit to their terms fixed by law. On December 29 the Governor REMOVED THEM SUMMARILY, and formed a new Commission, consisting of General Daniel E. Sickles, James H. Manning, and G. H. Treadwell. Their first act was to remove the specially qualified and efficient Chief Examiner, William Potts, and to appoint in his place a political henchman of Smith M. Weed, a noted Democratic politician.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS.—Mr. Cleveland's Message, as has been said, was generally accepted as OPENING THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS and as determining free trade or protection to be the cardinal issue. Whether so intended or not, the challenge was immediately taken up; notably by

the Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, who was in Paris. A STRIKING INTERVIEW with him was sent by cable to the *New York Tribune* and published on December 8. Mr. Blaine favored the prompt repeal of the tobacco tax, but wished to retain the tax on whiskey, and would use the revenue thereby derived to provide coast defences. He seriously objected to the repeal of the duty on wool, but advised that some changes be made here and there in the tariff, not, however, to reduce protection. He thought that the effect of the message would be to bring about a full and fair contest on the question of protection.—THE RENOMINATION OF MR. BLAINE by the Republicans was looked upon as almost assured, and this feeling was increased by the publication of what came to be known as the "Paris Message." General surprise was, therefore, caused when, on February 13, there was printed throughout the country a letter written by Mr. Blaine to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, in which he said that HIS NAME WOULD NOT BE PRESENTED TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION. He was, he remarked, led to this decision by considerations entirely personal to himself. He predicted the success of the Republican party in the coming election. The form in which the withdrawal was made, it was thought by many people, DID NOT REMOVE MR. BLAINE from the possibility of becoming again the candidate of the Republican party.—About the middle of February GEORGE W. CHILDS of Philadelphia, who had been spoken of as a possible Republican candidate, made a statement in his paper POSITIVELY DECLINING THE HONOR.—On February 20 appeared an authorized interview with General PHILIP H. SHERIDAN affirming in unmistakable terms that he WOULD NOT ACCEPT A NOMINATION to the Presidency.—THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, on December 8, decided to hold the NATIONAL CONVENTION in CHICAGO ON JUNE 19. The call appealed to Republican electors "without regard to past political affiliations, differences, or action," and favored a protective tariff, coast defences, "a free and honest ballot and a fair count," etc.—THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE met, on February 22, in Washington, and voted to hold the NATIONAL CONVENTION ON JULY 3. Strong pressure was brought in favor of San Francisco as the place. On the following day ST. LOUIS was selected, and the DATE was CHANGED TO JUNE 5. The call was addressed to "all Democratic conservative citizens, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for pure, economical, and constitutional government."

COURT DECISIONS AND TRIALS.—THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, on October 27 and 28, heard arguments on the motion to grant a writ of error

in the case of the CONDEMNED CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. On November 2 the application was denied, the Court holding that the first ten amendments to the National Constitution are limitations upon Federal and not upon State action, that the jury law of Illinois is upon its face valid and constitutional, and that upon the record there was no evidence that one of the jurors complained of should have been declared incompetent. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon Governor Oglesby of Illinois to induce him to commute the sentences of the condemned men; but shortly before the day of execution, November 11, three of them, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Adolph Fischer, wrote an open letter to the Governor refusing any commutation short of liberty, and declaring unabated faith in the principles of Anarchism. On the night of November 5 Engel tried to kill himself by drinking laudanum, but was resuscitated. The cells of all the Anarchists were searched the next day, and in Lingg's four dynamite bombs were found hidden under a mass of papers. The criminals were then forbidden to hold intercourse with their friends. Governor Oglesby COMMUTED THE SENTENCES OF Michael Schwab and Samuel Fielden to imprisonment for life, on the ground that they were less directly concerned in the murders than the other five. On the morning of November 10 LINGG KILLED HIMSELF by means of an explosive placed in his mouth. ENGEL, FISCHER, AUGUST SPIES, and A. R. PARSONS WERE HANGED on November 11 in the Chicago jail.—In the case of JACOB SHARP, CONVICTED OF BRIBERY, Chief-Judge Ruger of the New York Court of Appeals granted a stay of proceedings until the final decision of the Court should be made. The Court heard arguments on the appeal for a new trial, October 27-28, and on November 29 rendered a unanimous decision REVERSING THE JUDGMENT OF CONVICTION AND ORDERING A NEW TRIAL. The chief point of the decision was that error had been committed in the trial court in permitting the prisoner's testimony to be used against himself, such testimony having been obtained by a committee of the State Senate when investigating the charges of bribery. Sharp was released on December 1, on a bail bond of \$40,000.—THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, on October 12, granted writs of habeas-corpus in the cases of the three Virginia officials fined by Judge Bond in the coupon cases, and in December rendered a decision in their favor, declaring that a STATE, AS A POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY, CANNOT BE SUED OR COERCED IN THE FEDERAL COURTS.—The Supreme Court of the United States, on November 14, rendered a decision adverse to the validity of the driven-well patent.—JOHN MOST, the leader of the New York Anarchists, was arrested on November 17 for using in a speech language INCITING

TO VIOLENCE AND MURDER. He was found guilty by a jury, and was sentenced, on December 18, to one year in the penitentiary. On an appeal and application for a new trial he was released on bail.—A decision in the long-pending TELEPHONE CASES was rendered by the UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT on March 19. It was IN FAVOR OF THE BELL COMPANY on all points and in all the five cases. Three of the Justices—Bradley, Field, and Harlan—gave dissenting opinions, sustaining the claim that Drawbaugh was the first to invent a speaking telephone, although he imperfectly understood what he had done and made no effort to introduce it into general use. On all other points the Justices were of one mind. This telephone litigation has been going on for ten years, and this decision is considered the MOST IMPORTANT YET GIVEN AS TO THE OWNERSHIP OF PATENTS.

LABOR TROUBLES.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR, at Minneapolis, on October 12, adopted the report of a committee appointed to recommend the legislation that the order favored. The report approved the Blair Educational Bill, the eight-hour day for mail-carriers, and the Foran Bill relating to homesteads; it also favored Government control of telegraphs and telephones. The anti-Powderly element in the convention later issued an address to "the rank and file of the order," making twenty charges against the Powderly management; it alleged that for more than a year there had been a conspiracy for holding the salaried offices, elective and appointive, in and under the General Assembly.—THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, an organization of trade-unions, and the principal rival of the Knights of Labor, held its annual convention in Baltimore about the middle of December. Samuel E. Gompers was reelected president and his salary fixed at \$1,200. The *per-capita* tax on members was reduced from one-half to one-quarter of a cent a month; but a proposition to assess each member five cents a week, to start a fund to support strikes, was adopted, subject to the approval of the local unions. A good deal of antagonism to the Knights was manifested during the convention.—CHIEF ENGINEER ARTHUR, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in his address to the convention of the Brotherhood in Chicago, October 19, said that there had been times when STRIKES were the only court of appeals for working-men, and that the evil lay in THE ABUSE, NOT IN THE USE, of them.—THE PRINCIPAL STRIKE of the period under consideration took place in the COAL REGION and on the line of the READING RAILROAD COMPANY, in Pennsylvania. The trouble began on the railroad on December 24, when some employees refused to handle several car-loads of flour consigned to a firm which employed non-union men. They

were discharged, and some 2,500 men went on strike. On January 1 the MINERS IN THE SCHUYLKILL REGION struck—about 20,000 in number—because the company refused to continue the eight per cent. advance on the \$2.50 basis of wages which had prevailed for several months. The agreement to continue the advance extended only till that date. Probably the compelling motive of the miners' strike was a desire to help the railroad hands. Both strikes were approved by the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor on February 7, but soon afterward overtures were made to the company for a settlement. The company refused to have any dealings with the railroad men, but consented to take the miners back, leaving the question of wages for future consideration. On February 14 most of the miners returned to work, although a feeling of dissatisfaction with the leaders of the strike prevailed for some time. During the strike of the miners there were some OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE on the part of Poles and Hungarians; but as a rule good order prevailed. An investigation of the strikes was ordered by the House of Representatives, on February 1, and considerable testimony had been taken when the trouble terminated.—On February 3 THE MINERS IN THE WYOMING AND LACKAWANNA regions in Pennsylvania made a DEMAND FOR AN INCREASE of 15 per cent. in their wages. It was a request rather than a demand, and was not accompanied with any threat to strike in case of refusal.—The strike of the Reading Railroad employees was finally declared "off," on March 14, and permission was given to the men to apply for their old places as individuals.—A STRIKE OF THE ENGINEERS ON THE CHICAGO, BURLINGTON & QUINCY RAILROAD SYSTEM occurred on February 27. The main reason was the refusal of the company to grant a demand for uniform wages, whether for experienced or inexperienced men. The company succeeded in filling the strikers' places, and in a few days resumed the regular running of trains. The strikers belonged to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and that body talked about "stopping every wheel" in the country. There was an outburst of indignation at this wild threat. Some trouble occurred from other roads REFUSING TO HANDLE THE BURLINGTON'S FREIGHT; the United States Courts were appealed to, and decided that the companies could not refuse to haul Burlington cars, and that any interference with traffic would be illegal. The principal decision was rendered by Judge Gresham.—On March 15 the engineers and firemen on the ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FÉ RAILROAD quit work. This was purely a sympathetic strike, as they had no grievances to complain of. The strike only lasted till the 18th, when the men were ordered back to work.—At the end of March the

affairs of the western railroads were a threatening aspect, and there was a prospect of strikes on all the roads radiating from Chicago.—On March 29th there was made public a long manifesto from MASTER-WORKMAN POWDERLY to the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, in which he urgently requested that STRIKES BE ENTIRELY DONE AWAY WITH, and that education be made the future work of the order.

THE INDIANS.—Gen. F. M. Armstrong, Indian Inspector, who made an investigation of the trouble on the CROW RESERVATION, made a report which BROUGHT ABOUT THE RESIGNATION OF HENRY E. WILLIAMSON, THE AGENT THERE. Williamson was charged with disobeying the Secretary's orders, and with making a contract in regard to cutting hay on the reservation, out of which the contractors made \$15,000 a year. Williamson was an uncle of Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Upshaw.—Early in February a statement of Herbert Welsh, corresponding secretary and practical manager of the Indian Rights Association, was published, in which he declared that the MOST IMPORTANT REFORM NEEDED was one that would do away with PARTISAN APPOINTMENTS AND REMOVALS in the Indian service. He said that, since the present Administration came in, 51 of the 59 agents had been changed. "Men in every way well fitted for their work have been removed, and in most cases the new appointees have no personal fitness for the positions that have been given to them. The changes have had the effect of paralyzing the good work that was being done among the Indians."—An important bill concerning the EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN was passed by the Senate on February 29. It makes it the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to establish an industrial boarding-school on every Indian reservation upon which there may be located any Indian tribe numbering five hundred or more adult Indians.

TEMPERANCE REFORM.—A PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF OREGON was defeated, on November 8, by a majority of 7,685.—An exciting election was held on November 26, in ATLANTA (Georgia), to determine whether the sale of liquor should be prohibited in that city. The majority against prohibition was 1,128.—The majority against the proposed PROHIBITION AMENDMENT IN TENNESSEE was 27,693.—A very important decision was rendered by the UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, on December 5, in the KANSAS PROHIBITION CASES. The Court sustained the right of a State, under its "police power," TO SUPPRESS THE MANUFACTURE OF LIQUOR AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC within its limits, without compensation to the distiller or liquor-dealer for the value of the property destroyed by such action. THE RIGHT OF A STATE TO PASS PROHIBITORY LAWS IS THUS FULLY UPHELD.—Internal-Revenue Commissioner Miller ren-

dered in December a decision of importance in prohibition States, holding that the lists of liquor-dealers who have paid internal-revenue taxes are PUBLIC PROPERTY, and can be inspected or copied at any time in the offices of the local collectors.—A HIGH-LICENSE AND LOCAL-OPTION LAW WAS PASSED BY THE NEW JERSEY LEGISLATURE early in March, after having been vetoed by the Governor. The license-fees vary from \$100 to \$250, and in any county, on the petition of one-tenth of the voters, an election on the question of license or no license is to be ordered by the Circuit Court. A vote against license is not to prohibit the manufacture of liquors in such county. The penalties for violating the law are very strict.—A HIGH-LICENSE BILL WAS PASSED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE, on March 29, by a vote of 66 to 61. Only one Democrat voted for it; six Republicans voted in the negative. The bill fixes the minimum full liquor license fee at \$300 and the maximum at \$1,000; for beer licenses the minimum fee is \$100 and the maximum \$400. It is optional for boards of excise to fix three grades of licenses within these limits. The passage of the bill by the Senate is not certain.—On March 19 the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Iowa law forbidding the carrying of liquor into the State by any railroad company was invalid, as being an UNAUTHORIZED INTERFERENCE WITH INTER-STATE COMMERCE.

ELECTIONS.—Elections were held throughout the country on November 8. In NEW YORK the Democratic State ticket was elected by an increased plurality, the head of the ticket receiving a plurality of 17,077 votes. The Republicans retained their majority in both the Senate and Assembly. The Prohibition vote was 41,850, a slight increase. The entire Labor vote was 70,055, whereas in the previous year Henry George received in New York city over 68,000 votes for Mayor. The vote for George for Secretary of State in New York city was only 37,377 in 1887. The special interest in the NEW YORK CITY ELECTION centred in the contest for District Attorney; Nicoll was supported by the Republicans and the Independents, but he was defeated by Fellows by 22,242 votes. In Brooklyn, Chapin (Democrat) was elected Mayor by the narrow plurality of 832.—In MASSACHUSETTS Ames (Republican) was reelected Governor by a plurality of 17,606 against 9,463 in 1886. The Prohibitionists made a gain of 2,695.—In OHIO Foraker (Republican) was reelected Governor by an increased plurality of 5,868.—The Democrats of VIRGINIA retained control of the Legislature, although their total plurality in the election of Assemblymen was only 436. On December 20 JOHN S. BARBOUR was elected SENATOR, to succeed Riddleberger; Mahone received 48 votes to 87 for Barbour.—Governor Larra-

bee (Republican) was reelected in Iowa by 16,160 against 6,979 in 1885.—The NEW JERSEY REPUBLICANS elected a majority of both branches of the Legislature. The Prohibitionist vote showed a small falling-off.—In PENNSYLVANIA the Republican State ticket was elected by an increased plurality of nearly 2,000.—There was a vote in DELAWARE in November, on the question of calling a Constitutional Convention. The effort to have a convention was defeated, there being 14,431 yeas and 398 nays, while 15,640, a majority of the highest vote since 1880, were required.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Rev. FRANCIS L. PATTON, D.D., was elected President of PRINCETON COLLEGE on February 9, President McCosh having resigned; Doctor Patton has since then signified his acceptance. The Rev. Dr. THOMAS S. HASTINGS was elected President of the UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, New York, on February 7, but declined the honor. The cornerstone of the first building of CLARK UNIVERSITY, at Worcester, Mass., founded by Jonas G. Clark, was laid October 22.—A commission appointed in 1886, consisting of Elbridge T. Gerry, Alfred P. Southwick, and Matthew Hale, reported to the New York Legislature, on January 16, in favor of ELECTRICITY INSTEAD OF HANGING in the execution of criminals.—A careful estimate of the POPULATION of the UNITED STATES made on January 1 placed it at 62,500,000.—A SEVERE "BLIZZARD" occurred in Dakota and the North-west about the middle of January; 235 persons were reported to have lost their lives. New York city was visited by an ALMOST UNPRECEDENTED SNOW-STORM on March 12; all means of communication, except the elevated railroads, were suspended for several days. The storm extended over most of the Middle and Eastern States, and railway travel was seriously interrupted during the greater part of a week.—The MERCED CANAL in California, the LARGEST IRRIGATION WORK ever constructed in this country, representing five years of time and \$1,500,000 of expenditure, was opened on February 1.—Thomas N. Newbold, President of the New York State Board of Health, made a report to Governor Hill in December, severely criticising the CONDITION of the QUARANTINE STATION in New York Bay. He said that the health of the State and the country was seriously jeopardized by the inadequate facilities for the prevention and extinction of epidemics.

OBITUARY.—The following persons, each of whom had been prominent in public life, have died during the last six months: ELIHU B. WASHBURN, ex-Minister to France, October 22, aged 71; Rear-Admiral J. W. A. NICHOLSON, October 28, aged 66; Brevet Brigadier-General RANDOLPH B. MARCY, November 22, aged 76; ELIAS WARNER LEAVENWORTH, formerly Repre-

sentative in Congress and Secretary of State of New York, November 25, aged 84; ALGERNON S. SULLIVAN, a prominent New York lawyer, December 4, aged 60; Governor JOSEPH R. BODWELL of Maine, December 15, aged 70; ex-Secretary of the Treasury DANIEL MANNING, December 24, aged 56; ASA GRAY, botanist, January 30, aged 77; W. W. CORCORAN, philanthropist, February 24, aged 89; A. BRONSON ALCOTT, March 4, aged 88; HENRY BERGH, friend of animals, March 12, aged 65; ex-Governor HORACE FAIRBANKS of Vermont, March 17, aged 68; ex-United States Senator JOHN P. KING of Georgia, March 19, aged 88; MORRISON R. WAITE, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, March 23, aged 71; ex-Governor JOHN T. HOFFMAN of New York, March 24, aged 60; Commodore ROBERT B. HITCHCOCK, March 24, aged 84; ex-Lieutenant-Governor WILLIAM DORSHEIMER of New York, March 26, aged 56.

POLITICAL AND GENERAL.

FOREIGN.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Until after the meeting of Parliament in February THE CRIMES ACT WAS ENFORCED IN IRELAND WITH GREAT SEVERITY by Chief Secretary Balfour. THE APPEAL OF WILLIAM O'BRIEN against the sentence to three months' imprisonment for using seditious language at Mitchelstown was refused on October 31, and the finding of the lower court confirmed. An attempt was made to rescue the prisoner forcibly, and bloodshed was threatened. O'Brien was hurried off to jail; he made an address, in which he said that he gladly went to prison in such a cause. After his incarceration he promised to resist to the death any attempt to subject him to the treatment of a common criminal, especially in wearing the criminal costume, and the governor of the jail asked the advice of the Prisons Board as to the course he should pursue. On November 2 O'Brien was quietly removed from the jail at Cork to the Tullamore jail, fifty miles from Dublin. The Prisons Board directed that he should WEAR THE PRISON UNIFORM and be treated in every way like a COMMON PRISONER. He refused to put on the uniform, and was put on a diet of bread and water as a punishment. A crowd of 8,000 persons gathered in front of the jail, on November 7, and made a demonstration. The next day O'Brien was removed to the infirmary on a physician's order. Subsequently his clothes were taken away from him while he was asleep, with the intention of forcing him to put on the prison garb. O'Brien would not yield, however, but remained in bed until another suit of clothes was smuggled in to him by a friendly jailer. He was released from jail January 20. It was reported on January 28

that another warrant had been issued for O'Brien's arrest. He went to the South of Europe two days later, ostensibly for the benefit of his health. He appeared in Parliament for the first time on February 15. The same day it was announced that the Government had abandoned for the present the further prosecution of O'Brien.—After O'Brien's arrest the one that attracted the greatest attention was that of WILFRID BLUNT, a prominent, but rather erratic, Englishman and a well-known philanthropist. An indignation meeting called at Woodford, Ireland, October 23, by the British Home Rule Union, was proclaimed. Mr. Blunt was to preside. WHEN HE AND OTHERS MOUNTED THE PLATFORM A MAGISTRATE FORBADE THE MEETING. A conflict with the police ensued, Mr. Blunt was violently arrested, and more than thirty persons were hurt. Mr. Blunt, on the 27th, was found guilty of violating the Crimes Act, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. He appealed and was released on bail. Early in January his sentence was affirmed and he went to jail, THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN INCARCERATED UNDER THE CRIMES ACT. He put on the prison garb under protest; subsequently he refused to wear it any longer. The justices ordered that he be placed in a better room, but at the end of January he was still confined in a cell. Mr. Blunt brought an action against Police-Magistrate Byrne, of Loughrea, for \$25,000 damages for false imprisonment; this was tried in Dublin, beginning February 11 and lasting a week; the jury disagreed.—THE SECOND TRIAL OF T. D. SULLIVAN, LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN, for PRINTING IN HIS PAPER reports of meetings of suppressed branches of the National League, took place on December 2, and resulted in his conviction. He was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, without labor. He refused to appeal, saying that he would "suffer his punishment proudly."—Other prominent men punished under the Crimes Act were the following: Mr. Sheehy, M. P., Edward Harrington, M. P., Timothy Harrington, M. P., Father Matthew Ryan, William J. Lane, M. P., Thomas Byrne, John Hayden, Joseph R. Cox, M. P., Father McFadden, and Mr. Blane, M. P. Patrick O'Brien, M. P., was sentenced on February 8 to three months' imprisonment by the Kilkenney court, for advising tenants not to pay rent. He was released on appeal. On February 10 he was arrested just OUTSIDE THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, being mistaken for Mr. Gilhooly, M. P., for whom the police were looking. The arrest caused great excitement. J. D. Pyne, M. P., was arrested at the same time, taken to Ireland, and sentenced for three months. He had long eluded the police, and at one time barricaded himself in Lisfinney Castle and defied arrest. On March 6 Mr. Gilhooly was convicted under the Crimes Act, and sentenced to two months'

imprisonment; he was released on appeal, but was at once rearrested for having assaulted an inspector.—Inspector Brownrigg and other constables were found guilty of murder by a coroner's jury at MITCHELSTOWN. This was in October. The Court of Queen's Bench at Dublin, however, granted a writ to quash the verdict.—A jury at Dublin, on December 7, rendered a verdict of acquittal in the case of O'Leary, one of the men charged with complicity in the murder of Constable Whelehan at Lisdoonvarna. The Attorney General announced that he would not proceed with a capital charge against any of the seven prisoners arrested for connection with the murder, but would have them all indicted for a misdemeanor.—Speaking at Rathkeale, County Limerick, January 29, MICHAEL DAVITT said that the cardinal object of Irish agitation was the TOTAL UPROOTING OF THE LANDLORDS from the soil.—On February 1 the MARQUIS OF RIPON and Mr. JOHN MORLEY visited Dublin. They were received with great enthusiasm and spoke in furtherance of the Home-Rule cause.—A large meeting was held at Loughrea on February 10; an address was presented to Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who said that he and his friends were ready to go to jail in order to vindicate a great public right. He denounced the arrest of Mr. Blunt as one of the most unjust things ever done.—Sir Thomas Henry Grattan Esmonde and Arthur O'Connor, members of Parliament, arrived in New York early in October and made a tour of the country, speaking in behalf of the Irish cause.—At a meeting of the National League in Dublin, on March 13, it was stated that since the last meeting £5,000 HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM AMERICA for the benefit of evicted tenants. The contributions received during the previous fortnight had been THREE TIMES GREATER than those for the same period in 1887.—Reductions of judicial rents were ordered by a Government Land Commission in December; at League meetings throughout Ireland these reductions were declared to be insufficient.—CONSIDERABLE APPREHENSION WAS FELT IN LONDON during the autumn on account of the demonstrations of the so-called "unemployed." A number of homeless people slept in Trafalgar Square, but there seems to have been a large element of Socialists and Anarchists who fomented the troubles. On October 8 200 persons paraded in a body through the principal streets of the West End and afterward held a meeting in the square. Another procession took place on October 14, when the crowd marched to the Mansion House and sought an interview with the Lord Mayor, and another on the 17th; on both days there were some ENCOUNTERS WITH THE POLICE. Other more or less riotous demonstrations followed. On Sunday, October 23, several thousands, following a leader with a red

flag, marched to Westminster Abbey, and 1,200 of them entered the building. They interrupted the meeting with cheers and groans and laughter. A GREAT RIOT OCCURRED on Sunday, November 13, growing out of an attempt to hold a public meeting in TRAFALGAR SQUARE. The meeting was forbidden on the ground that the square was Crown property. Four thousand policemen took possession of the approaches to the square at an early hour, and attacked and dispersed each group of paraders as it arrived in the vicinity. The paraders were headed by bands of music and carried banners and mottoes. Fierce fights took place in the Strand, Northumberland Avenue, Whitehall, Pall Mall, and adjacent streets. One of the parading societies succeeded in entering the square, but was repulsed after a bloody fight, in which R. Cunningham Graham, M. P., was seriously injured. Mr. Graham was subsequently arrested for attacking the police. At 4.30 P. M. the crowd in the neighborhood of the square, it was estimated, numbered 100,000. Cavalry and infantry were summoned to the assistance of the police, but no charge was made, as the people began to disperse at dusk. A large number of policemen and others were WOUNDED DURING THE RIOT, most of them slightly. Mr. Graham and John Burns, a Socialist leader, who was also arrested, were tried on January 18, were found guilty of taking part in an unlawful assembly, and were each sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, without hard labor.—The Trafalgar Square matter was subsequently taken up in the HOUSE OF COMMONS. Sir Charles Russell moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire as to the right of the Government to interfere with meetings there. Mr. Bradlaugh proposed an amendment directing attention especially to the conduct of the police on November 13. Both were rejected.—At the Congress of the NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION at Nottingham, October 18, MR. GLADSTONE REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN IRELAND. He advocated a statutory parliament in Dublin, subject to imperial control, and said that only one word—impertinence—could describe the existing system of Irish government. He admitted having used the words "Remember Mitchelstown!" He expressed entire confidence that, if a general election should be held at once, it would result in the return of a Parliament resolved to do JUSTICE TO IRELAND.—The yearly report of the Federation predicted the early triumph of the Gladstonian cause and policy, approved the alliance between the English and Irish members of Parliament, and declared that most excellent moral results had been produced upon the Irish people by the conviction that they no longer stood alone, but that their political relations were being settled on a basis of justice, equality, and peace. The Congress

resolved that, when the Irish question is settled, the DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN WALES shall be made the leading point in the policy of the Liberal party.—MR. CHAMBERLAIN made a tour of Ireland, beginning October 11. In his speech at Belfast he said that he did not intend to submit Ulster to a Dublin Parliament, which, he remarked, would be simply a Dublin Tammany-Hall ring.—SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH made a speech at Bristol, on January 17, which was regarded as significant. He said that the Irish should have AS GREAT A VOICE IN SETTLING THEIR OWN AFFAIRS as the Scotch now have, and that "we must hand over to the local authorities everything possible that is consistent with the interests of the United Kingdom."—It was officially announced on February 15 that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had been appointed President of the Board of Trade in the place of Lord Stanley of Preston.—PARLIAMENT REASSEMBLED on February 9. THE QUEEN'S SPEECH said: "The measures which you passed last session for the BENEFIT OF IRELAND have been CAREFULLY CARRIED INTO EFFECT during the period since elapsed. The result of this legislation, so far as tested by this short experience, is satisfactory. Agrarian crime has diminished, and the power of coercive conspiracies has sensibly abated."—The same evening MR. GLADSTONE MADE A SPEECH in which he said that where the Queen's Address spoke of the careful administration of the Crimes Act, he would substitute for "careful" some very different word. He could not pass over the assertion that the Irish people under coercion had become more reconciled to law. He demanded OFFICIAL DATA in support of the alleged decrease of offences. He promised that the Opposition would assist in forwarding the Local Government Bill and other measures.—On February 10 MR. BALFOUR, CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND, answering Mr. Gladstone, stated that the NUMBER OF PERSONS TRIED UNDER THE CRIMES ACT had been 659, of whom 229 were acquitted. In 1886 the number of agrarian offences reached a total of 2,196, while in 1887 the total was only 1,837. The total number of cases of ordinary crime reached 1,963 in 1886; in 1887 it was 1,663. The number of agrarian offences for the six months ending January, 1887, was 455; for the same period ending January, 1888, it was 364—A DECREASE OF 30 PER CENT. The number of persons being boycotted at the end of July, 1887, was 870, whereas now it was only 208. He declared that the CONDITION OF IRELAND was GREATLY IMPROVED, and that the figures given justified coercion and proved the success of the Government's policy.—JOHN MORLEY replied that the period showing a decrease of crime included the six months' calm during which eviction notices could

not be executed. The diminution of boycotting was due, not to coercion, but to an entirely CHANGED STATE OF FEELING, and a deeper sense of responsibility toward the Liberal members who were working to obtain justice for Ireland.—MR. PARNELL spoke on February 13. He asserted that his party had a special interest in facilitating business, and were prepared to go further than the Government in rules for expediting legislation. They confidently expected a BETTER GOVERNMENT FOR IRELAND IN THE NEAR FUTURE. He moved this AMENDMENT to the address in reply to the Queen's Speech: "Humbly to represent to Her Majesty that only the remedial portion of the last session's Irish legislation tended to diminish crime, whereas the repressive measures had done much to alienate the sympathy and respect of Her Majesty's Irish subjects for the law, and that the ADMINISTRATION OF THE CRIMES ACT, as well as much of the general action of the executive, had been HARSH AND PARTIAL."—At this time a report on boycotting in Ireland was presented to Parliament. It showed that in July, 1887, and January, 1888, the number of cases of boycotting was 768 and 362 respectively, and the number of persons boycotted 4,835 and 2,075 respectively.—At a CABINET COUNCIL held on February 14, it was decided to instruct the Irish executive to CEASE PROSECUTING NEWSPAPERS for publishing reports of meetings of suppressed branches of the League.—WILLIAM O'BRIEN spoke in the House of Commons on February 16. THE CRIMES ACT, he said, was one of the most HORRIBLE MEASURES ever directed against human liberties. It had not stamped out a single village club, and the Plan of Campaign was uncrippled. Mr. Balfour had failed to destroy the Irish organization, to weaken the spirit of the Irish people, or to degrade them in the eyes of the world.—The House, on February 22, negatived an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen proposing the creation of a tribunal on judicial rents in Scotland. The report on the address was adopted on February 23.—The next matter taken up was the revision of the RULES OF PROCEDURE, in which IMPORTANT CHANGES were made. It was decided to meet at 3 P. M., and adjourn at 1 A. M., closing opposed business at midnight. THE MAJORITY NECESSARY TO ENFORCE CLOSURE was reduced from 200 to 100. The Speaker was empowered to suspend for the sitting grossly disorderly members, and at his discretion to take the vote of the House by a simple rising of the members.—Efforts were made in March to REFORM ENGLAND'S MILITARY AND NAVAL SERVICE. Lord Randolph Churchill urged the appointment of a Royal Commission to recommend army reform, and Lord Charles Beresford insisted on an entire change in the management of

the navy. Both propositions were negatived.—On March 9 Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, submitted a proposal to CONVERT THE NATIONAL DEBT into securities bearing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest for 15 years, and after that time $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—A LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES was introduced on March 19. It establishes county councils (to be elected directly by the rate-payers) to control the county police and to wield the powers now exercised by the local authorities over gas- and water-works, artisans' dwellings, the sale of food and drugs, sanitary conditions, etc. An important feature is the division of the whole country into urban and rural districts, London being created a county by itself under a Lord-Lieutenant. MR. GLADSTONE called attention to the absence of any reference to Ireland in the bill, and said that on his side it would be treated in a BROAD AND CANDID SPIRIT.—An attempt by Lord Roseberry to have a committee appointed to inquire into the CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, with a view to amending it, was rejected by that body, on March 19, 97 to 50.—On March 21 the House of Commons refused, 328 to 243, to order to a second reading MR. PARNELL'S ARREARS OF RENT BILL, which empowered the courts to order a reduction of arrears and costs of tenants under some circumstances, and contained other favorable provisions.—MR. GOSCHEN INTRODUCED THE BUDGET on March 26. The total expenditure for the current year, he said, had been £87,427,000, showing a saving of £423,000 on the budget estimate. The total revenue was £89,589,000, £1,454,000 more than the estimate. For the coming year it was calculated that the total expenditure would be £86,910,000; the estimated revenue would be £89,287,000. It was the plan, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to TAKE A PENNY FROM THE INCOME TAX; and to make this good they proposed to lay various minor taxes. MR. GOSCHEN'S financial statement was pronounced admirable and GREATLY ENHANCED HIS REPUTATION.—The most important of the BYE-ELECTIONS have been those held in the West Division of Southwark, February 17, in Doncaster, February 24, in Deptford, February 29, and in the Gower division of Glamorganshire, March 28. In Southwark a Liberal was again elected, but by a largely increased majority. In Doncaster, which had been represented by a Liberal, the Government won a SURPRISING VICTORY; the Liberal majority of 268 was wiped out, and a Liberal-Unionist returned by a majority of 211. INTENSE INTEREST was aroused by the contest in Deptford, where WILFRID BLUNT was the Liberal candidate. He was defeated by 275 votes; at the previous election the Conservative candidate was elected by over 600 majority. In Gower the Liberal forces

were divided, and the Liberal majority was reduced from 3,457 to only 606.—THE CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND REGARDING THE SUEZ CANAL, signed October 24, provides that the CANAL SHALL BE KEPT OPEN IN TIME OF WAR; that no act of hostility shall be permitted at either of its approaches, or on its banks within a zone to be determined by an international commission; that belligerent Powers shall neither embark nor disembark troops or war materials on the canal, or in the ports of access.—At the same time a convention about the NEW HEBRIDES was signed, providing for the withdrawal of the French troops. The evacuation of the islands took place in March.—The following prominent Englishmen have died: A. J. BERESFORD-HOPE, M. P. for Cambridge University and proprietor of the *Saturday Review*, October 20; LORD LYONS, long Minister at Paris, December 5; Sir HENRY JAMES SUMNER MAINE, the well-known political writer, February 4. The Most Rev. DANIEL MCGETTIGAN, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, died December 3. The Parnellite party lost a valuable member by the death of EDMUND DWYER GRAY, M. P., on March 27.

CANADA.—A conference of leading men from five of the important provinces of Canada was held in Quebec in November, and a resolution was unanimously adopted favoring UNRESTRICTED RECIPROCITY OF TRADE between the United States and Canada.—On February 8 it was announced that LORD LANSLOWNE would succeed LORD DUFFERIN as Governor General of India, and that LORD STANLEY OF PRESTON would become Governor General of Canada.—There has been no little trouble in Manitoba. The HARRISON MINISTRY resigned on January 13, after an existence of barely six weeks, and the Liberals under Greenway's leadership assumed the reins of power. Various defalcations were discovered by Prime-Minister Greenway; these at first were reported to amount to \$500,000, but later the sum was placed at \$125,000.—THE SECOND SESSION OF THE SIXTH PARLIAMENT of Canada was opened by the Governor General on February 23. In his speech he referred to the FISHERIES TREATY, and hoped that it would be considered as HONORABLE AND SATISFACTORY to both nations. He said that it was proposed to make the larger portion of the modern laws of England applicable to Manitoba and the North-west Territories.

EUROPEAN WAR-CLOUDS.—There have been SEVERAL WAR PANICS in Europe, and each Power is apparently ready for hostilities at a moment's notice. Russia made a movement which was regarded by Austria as threatening, by MASSING TROOPS ON THE AUSTRIAN AND RUMANIAN FRONTIER. Trouble between Germany and Russia

seemed at one time imminent. An alliance between Russia and France was said in February to be in a forward condition, and something in the nature of an understanding was believed to exist between England and Italy. Bulgaria has continued to be a bone of contention.—Russia's menaces were looked on as so serious that several WAR CONFERENCES were held in Vienna, in December, to take measures for defence. Soon after an article appeared in the *Military Gazette* (official) of St. Petersburg, declaring that Germany and Austria had made a greater increase in their frontier forces and fortifications than Russia, and that the movements of Russian troops had been merely protective. Members of the Austrian reserve who were in other countries were ordered to be in readiness to return and join their commands by January 1.—On February 3 the AUSTRO-GERMAN TREATY of October 7, 1879, was made public. The treaty stipulated that, should either of the two countries be attacked by Russia, each is pledged to ASSIST THE OTHER WITH ITS ENTIRE MILITARY FORCE. Should either be attacked by any other Power, the other is to remain neutral, unless Russia assists the aggressor. The publication of this treaty of alliance was regarded as a WARNING TO RUSSIA.—A TREATY BETWEEN ITALY AND GERMANY, it was announced, stipulated that, if France attacks either country, the other shall send 300,000 men to the French frontier.—BISMARCK'S GREAT SPEECH in the Reichstag, on February 6, in the debate on the Military Loan Bill, had an important bearing on the situation. He had no immediate apprehension of war, but he strongly urged Germany to be prepared. He considered the concentration of Russian troops on the frontier as threatening, but he SAW NO PRETEXT for a Russian or a EUROPEAN WAR. He said: "The warlike tendencies of France and Russia drive us to defence; the pike in France and Russia compel us to become carp." "If we are attacked, then the *furor Teutonicus* will flame out." He made no reference to the relations between Austria and Russia.—Russia's dissatisfaction with the SITUATION IN BULGARIA has steadily manifested itself, and negotiations have been going on with the other Powers for a readjustment. Russia has never ceased to regard PRINCE FERDINAND as an intruder, and early in March, in accordance with the demands of Russia, to which several of the other Powers consented, THE PORTE informed Ferdinand that his position in Bulgaria is ILLEGAL. ENGLAND REFUSED TO ADVISE THE SULTAN to take steps for the removal of Ferdinand before satisfactory measures were taken for the settlement of Bulgaria's future after his removal.—The Council of Bulgarian Ministers DECIDED NOT TO REPLY to the Porte's despatch declaring Ferdinand's position illegal.—The Bulgarian Sobranie was

opened October 27. Prince Ferdinand made an address, saying that the Government was working for the prosperity and greatness of Bulgaria, and that order, tranquillity, and security had been restored. M. Tutcheff was elected president of the Sobrane, which unanimously voted an address in reply to the Prince's speech, assuring him of the support of the army and the people.—It was stated on good authority in London, about the middle of February, that there was an arrangement whereby, if Italy was attacked, an ENGLISH FLEET WOULD PROTECT THE ITALIAN COAST. Questioned in the House of Commons, on February 22, Sir James Fergusson, Under Foreign Secretary, denied that any engagement had been entered into that was not known to Parliament.—The appointment of Lord Dufferin as Ambassador to Rome was regarded as having a SIGNIFICANT BEARING ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND ITALY.—On January 4 it was made known that President Carnot of France had given assurances to Emperor William that while he remains at the head of the republic no French Government will be permitted to ADOPT A WARLIKE POLICY.—THE SUCCESSION OF FREDERICK TO THE THRONE OF GERMANY is generally regarded as conserving the general peace of Europe, especially in view of the disposition which he manifested toward the Emperor of Austria and the President of France in writing them autograph letters. His uncertain health, however, renders the future extremely doubtful.

FRANCE.—A great MILITARY AND SOCIAL SCANDAL was caused in Paris, October 7, when General CAFFAREL was suspended as Chief of the War Department staff, and sent to a military prison to be tried by a council of war for SELLING CIVIL DECORATIONS. Two women, Madame Limousin and Madame Ratazzi, and General d'Andlau were also involved in the affair; and in the house of Madame Limousin were found some 300 letters to M. DANIEL WILSON, SON-IN-LAW OF PRESIDENT GRÉVY, which put Wilson in a bad light. General Caffarel was pronounced guilty of "habitual dishonorable conduct," and placed on the retired list. General BOULANGER having declared that the prosecution of Caffarel was aimed at him (Boulanger), General Ferron, Minister of War, placed him under arrest, October 13, for thirty days, for giving improper information to reporters.—The FRENCH CHAMBERS REASSEMBLED October 25. M. d'Ornano, Bonapartist, moved that a committee be appointed to investigate the Caffarel-Wilson scandals, and this was carried, 379 to 155.—The same day there was a turbulent meeting at Tours, which was represented in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Wilson, and a resolution was adopted by a small majority, declaring that he had BETRAYED HIS TRUST and MUST

RESIGN.—PRESIDENT GRÉVY, on October 28, declared that he would be unable to remain in the Elysée with a broken-up family, and expressed an INTENTION TO RESIGN. He was, however, persuaded to reconsider the subject.—On November 19, in the Chamber of Deputies, the Extreme Left moved an interpellation of the Government on the question of its domestic policy. A motion by the Ministry to postpone the debate was rejected, 328 to 242. Prime-Minister ROUVIER immediately announced the RESIGNATION OF THE CABINET.—PRESIDENT GRÉVY, on the evening of November 21, handed his resignation to M. Rouvier, after having abandoned his attempts to form a Cabinet. The resignation was not announced, however. Finally, on December 2, M. GRÉVY DID RESIGN. The ELECTION OF HIS SUCCESSOR took place on Saturday, December 3, after and amid great excitement, during which an outbreak of the mob was feared at any moment. The Republicans held a caucus at Versailles that morning, in which Ferry had the lead. The fear of a riot in case he was elected probably led the factions to unite upon M. SADI-CARNOT, who was elected. The balloting for the election of President began at 2.15 P.M. at Versailles. The result of the first ballot, total vote 849, was: SADI-CARNOT, 303; FERRY, 212; SAUSSIER, 148; DE FREYCINET, 76; APPERT, 72; BRISSON, 26; FLOQUET, 5; other candidates, 7. Before the second ballot the members of the Left groups held a meeting. Ferry announced his resolution to WITHDRAW IN FAVOR OF CARNOT, and De Freycinet did likewise. The second and last ballot resulted thus: CARNOT, 616; SAUSSIER, 186; FERRY, 11; DE FREYCINET, 5; APPERT, 5; PYAT, 1.—Excitement was renewed in Paris just a week after the election, by an ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE M. FERRY in the hall of the Chamber of Deputies, by a man who called himself Aubertin. He fired three shots at M. Ferry, two of which wounded him slightly. Aubertin said that he belonged to a band of revolutionists.—There was some DIFFICULTY IN FORMING A MINISTRY, but at length one was organized by M. TIRARD, as follows: M. TIRARD, PRIME MINISTER and MINISTER OF FINANCE; M. FLOURENS, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. FALLIÈRES, Minister of Justice; M. SARRIEN, Minister of the Interior; General LOGEROT, Minister of War; M. DE MAHY, Minister of Marine; M. LOUBAT, Minister of Public Works; M. DAUTRESME, Minister of Commerce; M. VIETTE, Minister of Agriculture; M. FAYE, Minister of Public Instruction.—PRESIDENT CARNOT'S MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT expressed the hope that a spirit of conciliation would continue to pervade both houses. The part relating to the FOREIGN POLICY of France was couched in the MOST PACIFIC TERMS.—THE DECLARATION OF THE MINIS-

TERS, read in the Chamber of Deputies, December 15, stated that the Cabinet's sole ambition was to CONTINUE THE WORK OF CONCORD. It demanded the united Republican vote upon the Ministerial scheme of military legislation. The appropriations asked by the Government were voted, 521 to 13.—About the middle of December the Court of Arraignment at Paris pronounced that NO CASE HAD BEEN MADE OUT AGAINST M. WILSON; but later another inquiry showed that a manufacturer had bought a decoration of the Legion of Honor for 60,000 francs, and that Wilson and his accomplices shared the spoils. Wilson was put on trial before the Correctional Tribunal on February 16. He was CONVICTED on March 1, and SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT, to pay a fine of 3,000 francs, and to be deprived of his civil rights for five years. Three others charged with similar offences were sentenced for eight months, four months, and one month respectively. Madame Ratazzi was acquitted. Wilson appealed from the decision, and, on March 26, the Court of Appeal reversed it and acquitted him, on the ground that there had been NO VIOLATION OF EXISTING LAWS.—General Caffarel and Madame Limousin were sentenced on March 20, the former to pay a fine of 3,000 francs, and the latter to six months' imprisonment.—The TRIENNIAL ELECTIONS FOR SENATORS took place January 5. The returns showed the election of 57 Republicans and 21 Conservatives.—The Chambers reassembled January 10. M. Floquet was reelected President of the Chamber of Deputies. In the Senate M. Carnot, father of President Carnot (who has since died), as the senior member, took the chair; M. Leroyer was reelected President.—In spite of M. Tirard's protests, the Chamber, on February 16, resolved to consider an amendment reducing the interest on the floating debt by 3,000,000 francs. Despite the appeal of the Government, it also voted to consider a measure providing for reductions in the salaries of treasury paymasters. Premier Tirard thereupon THREATENED TO RESIGN.—On February 23 M. Tirard said in the Chamber that he would regard the vote on the clause in the budget relating to the secret service as a question of confidence in the Ministry. The clause was adopted, 243 to 220.—A crisis occurred on March 30, when the Chamber, 267 to 237, despite the Government's opposition, voted for urgency for the Extreme Left's bill providing for the REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION. THE MINISTRY IMMEDIATELY RESIGNED. M. FLOQUET was summoned to form a Cabinet.—In the elections held on February 26 to fill vacancies in the Chamber some 54,000 votes were cast in various departments for General BOULANGER. The matter was taken up in the Council of Ministers, when the General

denied that he had anything to do with it. A few days later he wrote a letter to the Minister of War, expressing a wish that his friends would not WASTE THEIR VOTES in attempting to elect him to an office which he could not accept. On March 15 General BOULANGER WAS DEPRIVED OF HIS COMMAND on the ground that he had visited Paris three times without permission; on two of these occasions he was said to have been in disguise, wearing spectacles and pretending to be lame. The General claimed that he had only gone to Paris to visit his sick wife, and that he had been haishly treated. His friends proposed at once to make him a CANDIDATE IN ALL ELECTIONS, as a national protest. The Court of Inquiry in the Boulanger case decided against the General, and, on March 26, President Carnot signed a decree placing him on the RETIRED LIST OF THE ARMY. General Boulanger at once became a candidate for the Chamber of Deputies in the Department du Nord.

GERMANY.—WILLIAM I., EMPEROR OF GERMANY, died in Berlin on the morning of March 9, after a brief illness. He lacked but a few days of being 91 years old, and the excitement attending his death was diminished by his advanced age. There was great concern, however, on account of the PRECARIOUS HEALTH OF THE CROWN PRINCE, who had passed the winter in San Remo, Italy, where, on February 9, he had undergone the operation of TRACHEOTOMY. His illness is believed to be CANCEROUS IN ITS NATURE, but no positive evidence of cancer has been discovered. The six physicians in charge of the case, on March 6, united in an official statement, in which they denied that any serious differences of opinion existed among them, and said that a DANGEROUS TURN IN THE MALADY WAS NOT IMMINENT. Two days before this statement was made, it was announced that the Crown Prince's eldest son, PRINCE WILLIAM, had been empowered to SIGN ROYAL DECREES AND ORDINANCES, should occasion therefor arise. The death of the Emperor was expected on March 8, and on that day an IMPERIAL DECREE, dated November 17, 1887, was promulgated, declaring Prince William to be the REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EMPEROR IN STATE AFFAIRS. The last official act of the Emperor was, on the day before his death, to sign the order proroguing the Reichstag. The CROWN PRINCE SUCCEEDED TO THE THRONE as Frederick I. of Germany and Frederick III., King of Prussia. On March 12 the new Emperor addressed a proclamation to his people, in which he said: "I shall make it my whole endeavor to CONTINUE THE FABRIC in the spirit in which it was founded—to MAKE GERMANY THE CENTRE OF PEACE and to foster her welfare." At the same time appeared a letter written by him to PRINCE BISMARCK, setting forth the principles on which he would direct the Gov-

ernment. He desired the unabated maintenance of the army and navy, and pledged himself to maintain religious toleration, and to advance financial reform. THE EMPEROR'S HEALTH SEEMED TO IMPROVE under the exertion made necessary by his accession to power, and, contrary to expectation, no ill effects followed his long journey from San Remo to Berlin and his exchanging the climate of Italy for the rigors of winter in Germany. The funeral of the dead Emperor took place on March 16, and was a splendid pageant. On March 19 messages from Emperor Frederick to the various legislative bodies of the Empire were made public. They breathed the same spirit as his proclamation of the 12th. A decree was signed on March 21, AUTHORIZING CROWN PRINCE WILLIAM TO REPRESENT THE EMPEROR IN THE TRANSACTION OF OFFICIAL BUSINESS in case the Emperor should be unable to act for himself.—Aside from the anxiety caused by the condition of the Crown Prince and the illness and death of the Emperor, and the part which Germany has played in the more or less warlike relations of the Great Powers, not a great deal of importance has occurred in the German Empire in the past six months.—THE REICHSTAG RE-ASSEMBLED on November 24, and received a message from the Emperor in reference to the Crown Prince's ailment.—A bill was introduced on December 15, authorizing the EXPULSION OF ALL SOCIALISTS who have incurred penalties for violations of the Anti-Socialist law or by belonging to secret societies, and permitting the punishment of any one taking part in a Socialist Congress. Under this bill most of the Socialist members of the Reichstag could be expelled from Germany. The bill gave rise to an animated controversy, and various amendments were proposed. The Government's STRINGENT PROPOSALS for expatriation and the like were finally STRICKEN OUT, and the existing laws on the subject were continued in operation for two years longer.—THE MILITARY LOAN BILL, which increased the army 700,000 men and authorized an expenditure for the purpose of about \$70,000,000, was passed on February 8.—The Prussian budget for 1886-7 showed a surplus of 16,000,000 marks, while the budget for 1887-8 left an available surplus of 28,000,000 marks.—A statement given out in the fall showed that, for the first half of the current financial year, there was in the REVENUE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE an increase from customs duties of 10,300,000 marks, from the Post-office 4,000,000, from State railways 1,250,000, and a decrease from the sugar tax of 500,000 and from the spirit tax of 2,000,000 marks.

RUSSIA.—It was reported early in October that M. Delianoff, Minister of Public Instruction, had been dismissed because of his rigorous exercise of power over students in the gymnasia, which caused general dis-

content among the people.—The Chief Press Censor at St. Petersburg was dismissed in October for exacting money for FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS ON PUBLICATIONS offered for censorship.—On November 3 it was reported that ANOTHER NIHILIST PLOT had been discovered and the conspirators arrested. At the same time came reports of great commercial distress.—THE TSAR AND TSARINA VISITED BERLIN, on November 18, and an improvement in the relations between Russia and Germany resulted from the visit. Certain letters which had exasperated the Tsar were pronounced by Prince Bismarck to be FORGERIES. The popular welcome to the distinguished guests in Berlin was hearty.—On January 2 EIGHT NIHILISTS, including the Cossack, Tschernoff, who were condemned to death for making an attempt on the life of the Tsar during his visit to the Don Cossack country, WERE HANGED at St. Petersburg. There were five men and three women.—ANOTHER PLOT, said to have been of UNUSUAL MAGNITUDE, as regards both the number and the position of the persons implicated, was made known on January 10, when it was announced that the Tsar would make a shorter stay in St. Petersburg than was intended at the time of the New-Year's reception. Several army officers were among those arrested.—General Gresser, Prefect of St. Petersburg, on the night of January 12, ordered that numerous houses in the city be searched. The result was the arrest of 887 persons.—On January 30 the *St. James's Gazette* (London) printed a remarkable story to the effect that an army officer in St. Petersburg, who had been taken to a hospital mortally wounded, admitted that he had shot himself in order to avoid the NECESSITY OF SHOOTING THE TSAR. He said that he was a member of a secret society, which had balloted to decide who should assassinate the Tsar, and that the lot had fallen on him. Great efforts were made by the authorities to keep the matter secret.—The Russian Senate, in special session for the consideration of State crimes, in January, CONDEMNED TO DEATH seven prisoners who were accused of belonging to a secret society having in its possession bombs and a secret printing-press. The SENTENCES WERE AFTERWARD COMMUTED to long terms of imprisonment.—In February M. Vishnegradski, Minister of Finance, submitted to the Council of the Empire a law to establish a METALLIC STANDARD preparatory to the CONSOLIDATION OF THE RUSSIAN MONETARY CURRENCY. The object of it was to bring gold and silver into circulation and prepare the way for a compulsory metal standard.

ITALY.—Signor Magliani, Minister of Finance, presented the budget in the Chamber of Deputies on December 17. The ESTIMATES for the ensuing year showed a DEFICIT of \$2,660,000. This, the Minister explained, was due to the expedition to Mas-

sowah. The vote of the Chamber, he said, had already met a part of the additional expense, and the remainder would be covered by means at the disposal of the Treasury.—THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF THE POPE, in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood, was celebrated on January 1. There was an immense crowd in St. Peter's. The Pope received numerous and costly presents from all parts of the world.—On February 11 the Senate rejected, by a vote of 60 to 32, a bill empowering the Government to reorganize the central administration. PRIME-MINISTER CRISPI had announced that he would accept the passage of this bill as a vote of confidence; but the expected resignation of the Ministry did not follow.—The Italian forces in Abyssinia have been increased, until there is an army of about 25,000 men there. Several skirmishes have occurred with the forces of King John, but there has been NO DECISIVE BATTLE. The Abyssinians have refused all overtures looking toward arbitration, and it is estimated that they can raise an army of 100,000 men. Some of the allies of the Italians have deserted to the enemy, taking with them the arms and equipments with which the Italians had supplied them. At the end of March, King John made overtures for peace.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Military Council at Vienna decided, on December 19, to grant the Minister of War a credit of 15,000,000 florins. The smallness of the grant was held to be proof that Austria did not intend to take aggressive measures.—A REVISION OF THE MILITARY-SERVICE LAW was announced in January. The age of liability to military duty was raised from 20 to 21, and other changes were made.—The Minister of War told the Budget Committee, on February 6, that an increase of the *Landwehr* staff officers was absolutely necessary, and he asked an extra credit of \$250,000 for that purpose. It was also necessary that the number of *Landwehr* recruits in training should be temporarily raised.—In the lower house of the Reichsrath, on February 7, the Minister of Commerce asked for a supplemental credit of 1,240,000 florins for the construction of State railways.—The AUSTRO-ITALIAN TREATY OF COMMERCE was approved in February, as was also the bill to prolong the treaty of commerce with Germany.—The lower house of the Hungarian Diet, on February 20, adopted the budget by a large majority and passed a vote of confidence in the Government. The convention delimiting the frontier between Hungary and Rumania was approved about the end of February.—On February 29 it was stated that the Government were arranging for a CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THE ARMY. The present military law, which expires in 1889, fixes the strength of the army at 600,000 men, exclusive of the *Landwehr*.

SPAIN.—It was stated in January that EX-QUEEN ISABELLA was to be exiled from Spain; later it was announced that she would be allowed to live in Seville.—The Spanish floating debt of \$33,000,000 has been refunded for five years at 3 per cent.—In the Chamber of Deputies, on February 7, Señor Romero censured the Government for permitting military interference at Rio Tinto and for the resulting bloodshed. After an exciting debate, his proposal of censure was rejected by a vote of 176 to 19.—On January 31 the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the Government had no thought of making fresh conquests, but only wished to maintain the integrity of Morocco.—An attempt to censure the Minister of Foreign Affairs for his action in connection with American claims for losses sustained during the Cuban insurrection, was defeated, on February 24, by 170 to 48.—The Senate, on February 27, approved a bill ESTABLISHING TRIAL BY JURY.—The health of the infant King is not good, epilepsy having manifested itself.—The Spanish Government has decided to celebrate the FOURTH CENTENARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

OTHER EUROPEAN STATES.—The election for members of the RUMANIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, in February, resulted in the return of 179 supporters of the Government, 48 Opposition members, and 5 Independents. The members of the Cabinet tendered their RESIGNATIONS early in March, and M. Ghiika undertook to form a Ministry. He failed, and M. Cogalniceanu undertook the task. Subsequently the CABINET WAS REFORMED without change in its personnel.—The BELGIAN PREMIER announced to the Chamber of Deputies, in December, that 49 foreign governments had agreed to take part in a conference to establish an office for the TRANSLATION AND EXCHANGE of legislative documents. The Belgian Minister of Finance stated, on February 24, that the budget for 1889 showed an estimated surplus of 9,000,000 francs.—A PROTECTIONIST MINISTRY was formed in SWEDEN, in February, with M. BILDT as President.

THE PANAMA CANAL.—COUNT DE LESSEPS announced to the French Academy of Sciences, on November 1, that the PANAMA CANAL WOULD BE OPENED ON February 3, 1890. The work would not be completed, but passage would be free for twenty ships a day. His son, Victor de Lesseps, in a letter published on November 9, REPEATED THIS PROMISE, and said that no further loan would be required.—A few weeks later there was made public the REPORT OF SEÑOR TANCO ARMERO, agent of the Colombian Government, who had officially inspected the canal. He said that the total excavation necessary to open the canal amounted to 161,000,000 cubic metres; the quantity taken out at the end of last August, accord-

ing to the company's figures, was 33,925.230 metres, leaving 127,074,770 metres to be removed. The estimated cost of completing the canal was \$600,000,000. To the claims of the company that 15,000 men are employed on the work, and that the effective force of the men and machinery was equivalent to 615,000 men, Señor Armero said he firmly believed that there had never been more than 5,000 men employed. The truth was that the greater number of the working-sections were ALMOST DESERTED.—M. de Lesseps attempted to obtain from the French Cabinet authority to ISSUE LOTTERY LOANS, but, at a meeting on January 20, the Ministers unanimously refused their consent. De Lesseps accordingly issued a circular, saying that he was prepared to APPEAL DIRECTLY TO THE PUBLIC with a class of bonds giving fullest guarantees. He urged shareholders to request the Deputies to bring the matter before the Chamber for a full public inquiry.—On February 4 it was stated that agents of the company were negotiating with the Deputies of the Right for a bill permitting the issue of a lottery loan of 775,000,000 francs.—At a meeting of the Canal Company in Paris, March 1, it was made known that the directors had consented to the CONSTRUCTION OF LOCKS, by means of which vessels may traverse the canal in 1890. After the canal shall have been thus opened, the work of excavation will be prosecuted. De Lesseps expressed ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE IN THE COMPLETION OF THE CANAL.—A bill was brought into the Chamber of Deputies on March 5, authorizing a lottery loan of 24,000,000 francs. The Committee of Initiative agreed to consider a proposal to authorize a lottery loan of 340,000,000 francs, and, on March 26, the Chamber, 290 to 170, decided to take the proposal into consideration.

MEXICO.—AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION permitting the election of the same person to the Presidency for two consecutive terms, having been ratified by both houses of Congress, was officially promulgated on October 23.—A loan of £10,500,000, which Congress authorized President Diaz to negotiate, was consummated in January through the German financier, Herr Bleichroeder.

AFRICA.—No definite news in regard to HENRY M. STANLEY'S EXPEDITION for the relief of Emin Bey has been received. It is not thought, however, that he has met with any misfortune.—In Egypt, Ismail Pacha's claims have been settled, he receiving the palaces formerly belonging to him, property in Stamboul valued at \$2,500,000, the commutation of his civil allowances at fourteen years' purchase, and \$500,000 in cash for crops.—SUAKIM was attacked by a large force of rebels on March 4. The attacking party was defeated after four hours' fighting. The attack is said to have been led by Osman Digna.—News of the death of the SULTAN

OF ZANZIBAR, BARGASH BIN SAID, reached London on March 27. He was about fifty-five years of age, and succeeded his brother in 1870. SAID KHALIF succeeds to the throne.

SOUTH AMERICA.—There was a BLOODLESS REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA in December. PRESIDENT NUNEZ was succeeded by GENERAL PAYAN, a lawyer, who has occupied important posts in the judiciary and in the army. He has been President of both houses of the Congress, and was Minister of War under Nunez. He is regarded as possessing sound judgment, self-possession, and valor. He at once issued a decree announcing the full liberty of the press, and, on January 1, granted liberty to expatriated citizens to return to their country and their homes.—All EXPORT DUTIES imposed by the ARGENTINE REPUBLIC were abolished on January 1.—GREAT BRITAIN is reported to have seized a valuable gold-mining tract in VENEZUELA. There has long been a dispute about the boundary between this country and British Guiana.—In URUGUAY, Señor Feresedo Torres has been elected President of the Senate, and Señor Magarinos President of the Chamber of Deputies.—BRAZILIAN PLANTERS owning 2,500 slaves agreed in December to SET ALL THEIR SLAVES FREE, and took steps for the GENERAL EMANCIPATION of all the slaves in their province not later than the end of 1890.—THE BRAZILIAN MINISTRY announced in March, is as follows: Premier and Minister of Finance, Señor Alfredo; Foreign Affairs, Señor Prado; Marine, Señor Vierra; War, Señor Coelho-Almeida; Justice, Señor Vianna; Agriculture, Señor Silva; Interior, Señor Costa Pereira.—ECUADOR has elected a new President, GENERAL FLORES, now Minister-Resident at Paris. He will take office about July 1. He has been in the public service twenty years.

ASIA.—A SWEEPING IMPERIAL RESCRIPT, dated December 25, was published in JAPAN on the following day. It laid a ban on all secret societies and assemblies, and authorized the police to put a stop to open-air meetings. With the sanction of the Minister of Home Affairs they were to warn away, deport, or imprison all suspected persons living within eight miles of the palace; and to the Cabinet were given full powers to "PROCLAIM DISTRICTS imperilled by popular excitement," and practically to put the whole body of the people therein under MARTIAL LAW. Within a few days several hundred persons—children, boys, and men—were summarily removed from Tokio or cast into prison for not obeying the police. The ostensible cause of this policy was the DISCOVERY OF A PLOT TO MURDER COUNT ITO, the Minister-President of State. As a matter of fact, it followed immediately on the arrival in the capital of a deputation of people who petitioned for redress from excessive taxation.—CHINA has been visited by

TWO AWFUL CALAMITIES. The Yellow River overflowed on September 28, in the province of Ho-Nan, inundating a dozen or more populous cities, 7,000 square miles of rich plain being turned into an immense lake. The Imperial Commissioner who investigated the affair, reported that the total number of persons drowned was over 100,000 and that the number made destitute was 1,800,000. A severe earthquake occurred in the province of Yunnan, on December 15, and the mortality was frightful. In one town 5,000 persons were reported killed, and in another 10,000; elsewhere accurate estimates were impossible.—The KING of COREA decided in the autumn to despatch ministers to England, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States. China consented to this arrangement with great reluctance. It was believed that Russian agents instigated the King's action.—An English syndicate has obtained a concession from the KING of SIAM for the construction of a RAILWAY from Bangkok to Zimme.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.—The newly elected Legislature CUT DOWN THE SALARIES of all State officials and materially reduced the King's salary. This was in the autumn. In December the Legislature adopted resolutions denying the King's veto right. The matter was taken up by the Supreme Court, which finally decided that under the constitution of 1887 the King's veto right is a personal one, and that he is not required to consult his Cabinet in exercising that right.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The celebration of the CENTENARY of NEW SOUTH WALES occurred on January 24, the anniversary of the landing of the first governor of the colony. A statue of Queen Victoria was unveiled in the presence of the governors of all the Australian colonies. The ceremonies extended over a week, and included the dedication of Centennial Park and the opening of the Agricultural Society's exhibition.

LITERATURE.

RECENT BOOKS.—Among the more noteworthy books of the last half year biographical and historical works predominate. Mr. J. E. Cabot, Emerson's chosen literary executor, in his *Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 2 vols. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), gives a biography which from its completeness and its sober spirit is adequate and satisfactory. *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton & Co.), by his son, Francis Darwin, is so edited as to be essentially an autobiography of the great scientist. Professor Huxley contributes a valuable chapter. (Reviewed in NEW PRINCETON REVIEW for March.)

Mr. J. A. Symonds has made a new translation, in two volumes, of the autobiography of *Benvenuto Cellini*. This translation is superior to the current one, Roscoe's un-

improved revision of Nugent (1771). Mr. Symonds in his introduction undertakes to defend Cellini's veracity—a large task.

Two delightful volumes of personal reminiscence are *My Autobiography and Reminiscences*, by W. P. Frith, R. A., covering fifty years of life as an artist, and *What I Remember*, by T. Adolphus Trollope, writing at seventy-seven; full of anecdotes of literary people (New York: Harper & Brothers).

The Life of William Barnes by his daughter, Lucy Baxter, is a well-executed memorial of a poet whose poems in the Dorset dialect have a naturalness and pathos not unlike those of Burns, and deserve to be more widely known, as they certainly entitle their author to a worthy place among the poets of the Victorian era.

We have further, *Robert Southey*: the story of his life written in his letters, edited by John Dennis (D. Lothrop & Co.); *Life of Leo XIII.*: from an authentic memoir furnished by his order, by Bernard O'Reilly (Sampson Low), and a number of volumes continuing well-known series: *Patrick Henry*, by Moses Coit Tyler, "American Statesmen" series; *Benjamin Franklin*, by J. B. McMaster, "American Men of Letters" series (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.); *D. G. Rossetti*, by Joseph Knight; *Keats*, by W. Rossetti; *Shelley*, by W. Sharp; *Goldsmith*, by Austin Dobson; *Walter Scott*, by C. D. Yonge; *Burns*, by John Stuart Blackie,—these last in the "Great Writers" series (Scott).

Mr. George Saintsbury's *History of Elizabethan Literature* is the first part to be issued, though the second in order, of a new general history of English literature, to which Mr. Stopford Brooke contributes the earlier part, and Mr. Gosse and Mr. Dowden the later periods.

Mr. E. C. Stedman, in a thirteenth edition of his *Victorian Poets*, has revised the work and added a chapter, bringing his survey down to the Jubilee year. Few books of literary criticism have been so deservedly popular.

In *Modern Italian Poets: Essays and Versions*, Mr. W. D. Howells writes appreciatively and attractively of the poets and poetry of the last century. His versions are less happy.—Mr. Horace E. Scudder, in *Men and Letters*, gathers up a number of magazine articles containing much delightful reminiscence.

Dr. William Smith, with Henry Wace, D.D., has continued his "Dictionary of the Bible," by editing a *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines during the First Eight Centuries*, 4 vols. (London: John Murray). The work is written from a conservative theological and critical stand-point. The contributors are many and of varying distinction as scholars. While the work, therefore, will not be authoritative in every part, it constitutes an excellent encyclopædia.

Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography*, in Volume XIII. reaches DAMER.

The most important recent historical work is the long-delayed completion of Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, Vols. VII. and VIII. (V. and VI. of the American edition, Harper & Brothers). Mr. Kinglake has not the judicial impartiality of a great historian—his work indeed was designed to defend the military reputation of Lord Raglan, with whose death it closes. The work has not an ideal unity and balance of parts; the style is not always in the best taste, yet it is everywhere vividly written and has much of that brilliancy which made it popular in its beginning (1863).

Another important work is Mr. H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Harper & Brothers). It is marked by calmness of tone, scholarly thoroughness, and philosophical method. The principle of persecution for religious dissent is carefully traced from its germination to its later developments.

Mr. E. B. Washburne's *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877*, 2 vols. (Charles Scribner's Sons), gives the experiences of one who had exceptional opportunities for observation of men and things at an exciting epoch in recent French affairs.

A Sketch of Universal History, in 3 vols.: Ancient History by Professor Rawlinson, Mediæval History by Professor Stokes, Modern History by Professor Patton, makes a useful compendium, though its limits preclude the grace of style or completeness obtained in special treatises.

Prof. J. P. Mahaffy, in *Greek Life and Thought, from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, supplements his works on the literature and social life of the earlier periods, and gives in his usual bright style an exposition of the characteristics of this too little studied Hellenistic period. The same versatile writer has brought out a novel work in another field, *The Principles of the Art of Conversation*.

Professor Fisher has published in one volume a comprehensive *History of the Christian Church* (Charles Scribner's Sons).

The "Story of the Nations" series (G. P. Putnam's Sons) has added *Hungary*, by Arminius Vambéry, and *The Saracens*, by Arthur Gilman.

J. R. Green's admirable *Short History of the English People*, the sale of which has reached some 129,000 copies, has been revised by the widow of the author on the basis of the larger work, aided also by certain eminent friends.

Of books of travel the most interesting is Sir Henry Layard's *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia*, including a residence among the Bakhtiyari and other wild tribes before the discovery of Nineveh.

These explorations were undertaken more than forty years ago under great difficulties, in a region which continues to be a wonderland, even as in the days of Herodotus.

Mr. J. A. Froude's *The English in the West Indies; or the Bow of Ulysses*, is in a sense the counterpart of his *Oceana*, his experiences in Australia and the East; it is also as pessimistic regarding colonial prospects as the other work was rose-colored. It is a rhetorician's book rather than the careful study of an economist.

Dr. O. W. Holmes' *Our Hundred Days in Europe*, and Mr. S. S. Cox's *The Isles of the Princes; or the Pleasures of Prinkipo*, experiences had while United States Minister to Turkey, are pleasant books having mainly a personal interest.

POETRY.—The most considerable recent poetical work is Swinburne's *Lochness: a Tragedy*. His theme is wifely jealousy, hate, and revenge, the plot of the *Agamemnon* reversed. The baseless myth from which the plot is taken, the conquest of Britain by Trojan Brutus, has little interest in itself. The treatment shows a Greek simplicity of development, but the choral odes of *Atalanta* are wanting. The rhythm has that well-known mellifluous quality, which, though it sometimes palls on the reader, is rarely matched in modern poetry. The verse is decasyllabic, but rhymed, a part in couplets, other portions in sonnet sequences and various intricate metrical forms.

Prince Lucifer, by Alfred Austen, is a long, ambitious poem in dramatic form, but lacking in dramatic action and art. The lyric portions are more successful than the dialogue. Its apparent thesis is repellant, marriage a human convention, necessary, as things are, but not so in an ideal society.

Mr. Lowell has issued, under the title *Heartsease and Rue*, a volume of poems containing most of the pieces which have appeared during the last dozen years, together with some earlier poems not before given a place in his published collections.

Other volumes containing much graceful verse are, R. L. Stevenson's *Underwoods*, Edwin Arnold's *Lotus and Jewel*, Joaquin Miller's *Songs of the Mexican Seas*, and *Poems* by the late E. R. Sill.

Mr. H. F. Randolph's *Fifty Years of English Song*, 4 vols. (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.), is a conveniently classified and acceptable anthology of the poetry of Victoria's reign (reviewed in NEW PRINCETON REVIEW for March).

The second volume of Dean Plumptre's *Dante* contains the translation of the *Paradiso* and of the *Canzoniere*, and a number of "Studies," "The Growth and Genesis of the *Commedia*," "Estimates of Dante," "Dante as an Observer and Traveller," "Portraits of Dante."

Mr. William Morris has completed his translation of the *Odyssey of Homer* in the

metre of *Sigurd*, the first part of which, Books I.-XII., was previously noticed.

Vergil finds a new translator in Sir Charles Bowen, *Eclogues and Æneid*, I.-VI. The metre is a novel one, a rhymed catalectic hexameter, the last syllable being dropped to avoid the feminine rhymes, difficult to manage in English and not suited to the dignity of serious verse.

Among works of a more technical nature may be noticed the following: Lang's *Myth, Ritual and Religion* is in the same line as his *Custom and Myth*, supporting what may be roughly called totemism as the basis of mythology, against the more generally accepted poetico-meteorological theory.

Prof. Max Müller, besides his weightier work, *The Science of Thought* (reviewed in the NEW PRINCETON REVIEW for March), has gathered together a number of essays in *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryas*. Professor Müller invests philological matters with a charm even for general readers. He writes from a conservative stand-point, especially in viewing the tendency to fix upon a European habitat for the original Aryan stock.

Doctor Furnivall has edited in the "Rolls Series" *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A. D. 1338*, being, however, only the first part, never published hitherto. The work has a linguistic value to students of early English, but not much historical value, as it is itself mainly a translation of Wace.

An exhaustive *Dictionary of the Welsh Language* is being prepared by Rev. D. S. Evans. Part I. takes in letter A only.

Mr. E. S. Roberts has produced a scholarly work in *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*: Part I, the archaic inscriptions and the Greek alphabet.

Professor August Fick has applied his theories of the origin and construction of the Homeric poems to *Hesiod*. He essays to dissect out a primitive Aeolic core, afterward Ionized, and enlarged by interpolations and accretions.

The Cambridge University Press is issuing, under the editorship of Dr. H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. Vol. I. Genesis—Kings. The Vatican MS. (B) is taken, as far as complete, as presumably containing the oldest text; but the work is meant not to furnish but to prepare the way for a final critical text, which is a thing much desired from the increased importance now attached to the Septuagint.

Bagster also publishes a new *Handy Concordance of the Septuagint*, in which accuracy is especially sought.

MISCELLANEOUS. — Mr. Henry Irving, with Mr. F. A. Marshall, is editing *The Henry Irving Shakspeare* (Blackie), to be in eight small quarto volumes, with many illustrations by Mr. Gordon Browne. Two

volumes are already issued. Unique features are Mr. Irving's introductory essay on Shakespeare as a practical playwright, the stage history of each play prefixed to it, and the marginal indications of omissions in each play to furnish a proper acting edition.

Chapman & Hall, the original publishers of *Pickwick* fifty years ago, have brought out a limited memorial "Victoria" edition, designed to be in every way complete. The original drawings are reproduced in facsimile, with a number which were not used.

The London Times celebrated its hundredth birthday, January 1. It had existed under another name from 1785.

A library of Roman Catholic books published in England during Victoria's reign was sent as a Jubilee offering to the Pope. It numbers some fifteen hundred volumes, unimportant works being excluded. Among the authors are Cardinals Manning and Newman in theology, Mr. Coventry Patmore and Mr. Aubrey de Vere in poetry, Doctor Mivart in science.

The centenary of Byron's birth, January 22, passed without any significant celebration in England or America.

Prof. Max Müller has been appointed to the new lectureship on natural theology in Glasgow University on the Gifford foundation.

Alfred Domett, immortalized as Waring in Mr. Browning's poem of that name, died last November at seventy-six. Among Domett's own poems his Christmas hymn with the refrain, "In the silent midnight," is widely known and prized.

SCIENCE.

ASTRONOMY. — Mr. Norman Lockyer communicated to the Royal Society, on October 4, a note containing the results of his observations on the SPECTRA OF METEORITES. An abstract of this paper appears in *Nature*, November 17 and 24, 1887. The investigation proceeded upon a study of the spectra of many carbon compounds, and of the various metals at a comparatively low temperature, with special reference to the changes which occur in them with changes of temperature. The sources of heat used were the Bunsen burner, and the oxy-coal-gas flame. In every case the spectrum of the body under examination was more complex in the oxy-coal-gas flame than in the cooler Bunsen flame, though in no case was the number of lines or bands seen large. The spectrum of the glow of sodium and magnesium obtained by the passage of an electrical discharge through a vacuum tube was also examined. As the metals were heated the spectrum of the gas in the tube showed two of the prominent hydrogen lines. When the tube was heated still further, these lines became dim and the structural spectrum of hydrogen appeared. In the case of magnesium another characteristic line was observed.

The results of these researches were compared with those of similar ones made upon fragments of meteorites. In the oxy-hydrogen flame these specimens gave only about a dozen lines of magnesium, iron, sodium, lithium, and potassium, with indications also of manganese. In the spark spectrum given by the induction coil, about twenty lines were observed of magnesium, sodium, iron, strontium, calcium, barium, chromium, zinc, bismuth, and nickel. When the current was passed over a piece of iron meteorite in the vacuum tube, and heat was applied, the first spectrum observed was that of hydrogen; on further heating, the line which appeared when magnesium was similarly treated became evident. Indications of carbon were also present. The conclusion is reached that only the lowest temperature lines of the metals are seen in meteorites under the various conditions. By a comparison of these results with the recorded spectra of luminous meteors, Mr. Lockyer is led to believe that the temperature of the luminous meteors is higher than that of the Bunsen flame.

From the fact that, when the meteoric fragment was strongly heated in the vacuum tube while the current was passing, the whole tube gave the spectrum of carbon, Mr. Lockyer argues that as this spectrum is similar to that given out by a comet throughout a large extent of the immenseness filled by it, the illumination of the comet is probably electrical, and connected with the electric repulsion from the sun of the vapors composing it. The spectra of certain stars, especially of some "Novas" or temporary stars, have shown the bright flutings of carbon and absorption flutings of magnesium and zinc. Mr. Lockyer concludes that the carbon spectrum is due to electrical action on the vapors expelled from the meteorites as in the case of comets, and that the absorption spectra are produced by the vapor surrounding the meteorites, which have been made intensely hot by collision. These stars then, in his view, are "clouds of incandescent stones."

The spectrum of a nebula is very similar to that obtained from a meteorite glowing gently in an atmosphere given off by itself. As, further, a similar spectrum is given by comets at a distance from the sun, it is argued that the nebula are composed of meteoric swarms similar to those which are supposed to form comets.

The general conclusions reached by Mr. Lockyer are stated by him, in part, as follows:

All self-luminous bodies in the celestial spaces are composed of meteorites, or masses of meteoric vapor brought about by condensation of meteor swarms due to gravity.

The spectra of all these bodies depend upon the heat of the meteorites, produced by collisions, and the average space between the meteorites in the swarm, or, in the case of consolidated swarms, upon the time which has elapsed since complete vaporization.

The temperature of the vapors in nebulae, some stars, and in comets away from perihelion, is about that of the Bunsen flame.

The brilliancy of these aggregations at each (increasing) temperature, depends on the number of meteorites in the swarm, that is, the difference depends on the quantity, not the intensity, of the light. The main factor in the various spectra produced is the ratio of the interspaces between the meteorites to their incandescent surface. When the interspace is very great, the tenuity of the gases given off by collisions will be so great that no luminous spectrum will be produced. When the interspace is less, the tenuity of the gases will be reduced, and the vapors occupying the interspaces will give us bright lines or flutings. When the interspace is relatively small, and the temperature of the individual meteorites, therefore, higher, the preponderance of the bright lines or flutings in the spectrum of the interspaces will diminish, and the incandescent vapor surrounding each meteorite will indicate its presence by absorbing the continuous-spectrum-giving light of the meteorites themselves.

New stars are produced by the clash of meteor swarms, and variable stars are uncondensed meteor swarms, or stars in which a central more or less condensed mass exists.

Professor Trowbridge and Mr. Hutchins laid before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences a paper discussing the existence of OXYGEN AND CARBON IN THE SUN. To test the view of Dr. Henry Draper, who had thought that there were bright lines in the spectrum corresponding to the spectrum of oxygen, they made a large number of photographs of the solar spectrum, upon which they could not fix with any certainty upon any line that was brighter than its neighbors. They were also able to decide that the lines in the sun's spectrum supposed by Prof. J. C. Draper to be due to oxygen are not really coincident with the lines in the spectrum of oxygen. In both cases the error of the earlier observers was due to lack of sufficient instrumental power.

The authors hold the view that "the fluted spectrum of carbon is an example of the reversal of the lines of a vapor in its own vapor." They find remarkable coincidences between the spaces separating the fine bright lines of the flutings and dark lines in the solar spectrum. They therefore conclude the existence of carbon in the sun, and believe that at the part of the sun's atmosphere where the reversal just described is occasioned, the temperature is about that of the electric arc.

M. Cruls communicated to the French Academy, on January 16, the results of the observations on the last TRANSIT OF VENUS made by the Brazilian expeditions. The principal telescope used by each of the three expeditions had an aperture of 6.3 inches,

and other smaller telescopes were also employed. The resulting solar parallax from the internal contacts is $8''.808$. This is smaller than the results obtained by the British expeditions as given in the *SCIENCE RECORD*, November, 1887, and agrees with the value of the parallax deduced from Michelson's measurements of the velocity of light.

Subsequent observations have confirmed the statement made in the *SCIENCE RECORD*, November, 1887, that the comet discovered by Mr. Brooks on August 24 is Olbers' comet of 1815.

At the Vienna Observatory, Palisa discovered, on September 21, minor planet No. 269.

At Clinton, N. Y., Professor Peters discovered, on October 13, minor planet No. 270.

At Berlin, Doctor Knorre discovered, on October 13 minor planet No. 271.

At Nice, M. Charlois discovered, on February 4, minor planet No. 272.

PHYSICS.—At the meeting of the British Association of 1887, Professor Ewing presented the results of his experiments on the LIMIT OF MAGNETIZATION of iron. By using a thin neck of iron between two large pole-pieces, values of magnetic induction were obtained higher than any previously known. Determinations of the strength of the magnetic field near the neck yielded results, however, which indicate a final limit of intensity of magnetization. Professor Ewing also reported on the CHANGE IN MAGNETIC PERMEABILITY of an iron bar when it is cut in two and the halves placed in contact. After the bar was cut the permeability fell off very considerably, and was not increased by forming the surfaces of separation truly plane; when, however, compression was applied and the plane surfaces forced together, the permeability rose to that of the solid bar. Professor Ewing ascribes these facts to the effect of a layer of air between the two surfaces.

Professor Nichols and Mr. Franklin published, in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, December, 1887, an account of their experiments showing a change in the CHEMICAL RELATIONS OF IRON when brought into a magnetic field. Powdered iron was immersed in strong nitric acid, in which it remained perfectly passive until the temperature was raised to 59°C , when a violent chemical action began. When the experiment was repeated in a powerful magnetic field, the chemical action began at once, and became violent at 51°C . The temperature at which the passive condition of the iron is lost seems to be lowered by the presence of the magnetic field. The experiment was then tried of immersing two iron bars parallel to the lines of force in any liquid that can attack iron, and so arranging the system that the ends of one bar and the middle of the other were in contact with the liquid. In this case the bar with its ends in contact became positive to the other, so that when

the bars were joined by wires a permanent current flowed through the wires from the bar with its middle part in contact with the liquid to the other. The authors believe that local action will be set up in the powdered iron between the magnetic poles induced in its granules and their intermediate parts, and that this fact explains the loss of passivity in the magnetic field.

In connection with this should be mentioned an experiment reported to the British Association by Professor Rowland. Following up an observation of Professor Remsen, he showed that if, in a magnetic field, two pieces of iron, so covered that one exposed a pointed end and the other a plane surface, were immersed in a liquid that would act on iron, the pointed end was protected from the action of the liquid, and a current flowed from it through a wire connecting it with the other piece of iron.

H. Ebert published, in the *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, No. 11, 1887, an investigation undertaken to determine whether the WAVE-LENGTH OF LIGHT, and therefore its velocity of propagation, is dependent on its INTENSITY. He used the method of interferences in thick plates, and obtained interference bands with a difference in path of the interfering rays amounting in some cases to fifty thousand wave-lengths. The changes in intensity were brought about by the use of absorbing media. His results show a constancy in the velocity of light with variable intensity almost to a millionth of its whole amount. Indeed, no indications of any change of velocity were observed.

In the *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, No. 8 b., 1887, H. Hertz called attention to the fact that the readiness with which an ELECTRIC SPARK will pass between two electrodes, is much increased when the ULTRA-VIOLET RAYS of the spectrum are allowed to fall upon the region in which the discharge occurs. His investigations have been extended by Prof. E. Wiedemann and H. Ebert, and the results of their researches appeared in the same journal, No. 2, 1888.

In continuation of his work mentioned in the *SCIENCE RECORD*, May, 1887, F. Himstedt presents, in the *Annalen der Physik und Chemie*, No. 1, 1888, a new DETERMINATION OF THE QUANTITY ϵ , the ratio between the electrostatic and the electromagnet units. The method was one given by Maxwell. The value obtained was 30.081×10^9 , which is in close agreement with the result of his earlier work.

CHEMISTRY.—A full account has been published, in the *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, December, 1887, of the successful ISOLATION OF THE ELEMENT FLUORINE, by M. Henri Moissan. His first essays were made upon the fluorides of phosphorus and arsenic, and attempts were made to break them up by passing induction sparks through them, with the result that, while some indica-

tions were obtained of the presence of free fluorine, yet it could not be kept from recombination. Another experiment, in which use was made of a property of platinum of absorbing phosphorus from the fluoride, was somewhat more successful, in that free fluorine in an excess of trifluoride of phosphorus was obtained. M. Moissan then turned his attention to the electrolysis of the liquid fluoride of arsenic, and met with partial success, in that indications of free fluorine were again observed. The high specific resistance of the electrolyte, however, and the formation of a non-conducting coat of arsenic on the negative pole prevented full success. At last pure anhydrous hydrofluoric acid, itself a non-conductor, was rendered conducting by dissolving in it a few crystals of the double fluoride of hydrogen and potassium; the eudiometer was immersed in a freezing mixture to prevent the evolution of vapor of hydrofluoric acid; and on the passage of the current an active evolution of hydrogen began at the negative electrode and free fluorine was liberated at the positive electrode. Great difficulty was found in constructing the eudiometer so that the fluorine could be obtained for experiment, on account of its intense activity in attacking any material used for stoppers in the tube. At last stoppers of fluor spar were employed with success. The activity of fluorine in entering into combination is very great. Sulphur and selenium placed in it at once melted and inflamed. Phosphorus, arsenic, and antimony took fire. Crystalline silicon also became incandescent and burnt with great brilliancy. When hydrogen and fluorine are brought in contact, even in the dark, they combine with a violent explosion. The metals, and also all organic substances, are attacked by the free fluorine.

Three determinations of the ATOMIC WEIGHT OF OXYGEN have been lately made, with a view to again test Prout's law and to put the experimental knowledge of this important constant on a more secure foundation. Doctor Keiser published an account of his method in the *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*. He used the method in which hydrogen is made to combine with the oxygen of copper oxide to form water. Besides weighing the oxygen from the loss of weight of the copper oxide, and weighing the water, Doctor Keiser further checked his results by weighing the hydrogen employed. To do this he used the property possessed by palladium of absorbing large quantities of hydrogen, which may be slowly driven off by heating. The amount of hydrogen thus expelled was determined by weighing the palladium before and after heating. Doctor Keiser's result is that the atomic weight of oxygen is probably near 15.87.—In the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XXIII., Professor Cooke and Mr. Richards present their work on the

same subject. Their method was to weigh the hydrogen used and the water obtained. From a series of very concordant results they obtain the value 15.953 for the atomic weight desired.—Lord Rayleigh presented to the Royal Society, on February 9, the results obtained by him, by direct weighings after Regnault's method, of the relative densities of oxygen and hydrogen. He finds that previous determinations have been in error in not taking into account the difference in volume of the glass globes employed when full and empty. The correction which he introduces for this difference reduces the value of the atomic weight of oxygen deduced from his observations. The value for this constant obtained is 15.912.

Doctors Fischer and Tafel have issued two communications in the *Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft*, giving accounts of their ARTIFICIAL PREPARATION OF GLUCOSE. They at first used acrolein as a starting point, converted it into its dibromide, and then removed the bromine by treatment with baryta water, leaving the glucose in solution. Afterward they reduced glycerine directly to its aldehyde, and the solution thus formed gradually polymerized into glucose. The glucose, when isolated, is a sirupy substance, in every respect like the sugars. It has, however, the peculiar property that it does not rotate the plane of polarization of a polarized beam passed through it.

Prof. Lothar Meyer published, in the same journal, a paper containing the results of his investigation of the action of certain salts in solution in serving, as he terms it, as "OXYGEN CARRIERS." His experiments consisted in passing through solutions of different salts simultaneous currents of oxygen and sulphur dioxide, expelling the sulphur dioxide remaining in the solution at the end of the experiment, and determining the sulphuric acid formed. He thus found that certain salts in solution greatly facilitate the union of the oxygen with the sulphur dioxide. In some cases the amount of sulphuric acid thus synthesized was four or five times that originally contained in the salt. Professor Meyer considers these results to be due to alternate oxidations and reductions.

Gerhard Krüss reports the discovery, in the mineral euxenite, of small quantities of the new element GERMANIUM. The supply of the original mineral argyrodite, in which germanium was first discovered by Winkler, is exhausted, and it is interesting to recognize the existence of another source of supply for this rare element.

There has lately appeared a very important book by Professor Van't Hoff, discussing and explaining the system of TRIDIMENSIONAL FORMULÆ which were introduced into organic chemistry by himself and Le Bel. Van't Hoff proceeds on the view that the four affinities of carbon are arranged about the carbon atom on the four

angles of a tetrahedron. In any molecule in which these affinities are satisfied by different monad atoms or groups, it is always possible to arrange these monad atoms in two ways so as to produce two different tetrahedra, one of which is the image of the other. The carbon atom thus viewed is termed asymmetric. Such compounds, when formed, will be identical in chemical constitution, and will differ only in certain physical properties. They all exhibit the optical property of rotating the plane of polarization, those possessing one arrangement of the atoms rotating the plane to the right and the others rotating it to the left. The two arrangements crystallize in forms which are the images of each other, and the crystals exhibit opposite pyro-electricities. When such a carbon compound is artificially prepared it is always optically inactive, the explanation being that on the average equal numbers of molecules of opposite optical properties are formed. The separation of the molecules of opposite character has in many cases been effected. The subject has received great extension in a recent memoir of Professor Wislicenus, presented to the Royal Academy of Saxony.

THE NATURAL SCIENCES.—At the Vienna Meeting of the International Congress of Hygiene an important discussion was held on the value of PASTEUR'S METHOD OF INOCULATION as a preventative against hydrophobia. Doctor Chamberland, representing Doctor Pasteur, stated that their observations had demonstrated that those of their patients who had died of rabies were not infected with it by the inoculation, thus answering a charge that has often been made against Pasteur's method; and stated that the percentage of mortality among their patients was much lower than that commonly accepted as the mortality among bitten persons who were not treated by the method. Several other physicians who had used the method gave testimony to the great success with which they had met. Cases were cited where, of several people bitten by the same rabid dog, those who were inoculated remained healthy, while those not inoculated died of hydrophobia. While some opposition to a full acceptance of Pasteur's views and method was made, yet the current of opinion was all in their favor.

Professor Trowbridge read a paper before the National Academy of Sciences, giving an account of a discovery made by his son, of a peculiar formation of the WINGS OF CERTAIN BIRDS, especially the birds of prey. These birds, it is found, have the power to lock securely the parts of the wing which hold the long feathers, so that the wing may be kept spread without any muscular action. This fact is applied to explain the behavior of birds while soaring.

Mr. John Murray published, in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, January, 1888,

his investigation of the various elevations of the EARTH'S SURFACE. He estimates the mean height of the land as 2,252 feet, and the mean depth of the ocean as 14,640 feet. Between sea level and a height of 6,000 feet is found 84 per cent. of the land, while only 42 per cent. of the ocean bed is at a less depth than 6,000 feet. The land area is 55,000,000 square miles, and the ocean area 137,000,000 square miles. The volume of land above sea level is 23,450,000 cubic miles, and the volume of the ocean is 323,800,000 cubic miles. There are 3.7 cubic miles of matter carried down to the sea each year by rivers from the land. The total volume of the earth is estimated at 259,850,117,778 cubic miles.

On February 9, 1888, there was presented to the Royal Society a paper by Mr. E. B. Poulton announcing the discovery of TRUE TEETH IN THE YOUNG ORNITHORHYNCHUS. The adult animal exhibits no teeth, and performs mastication by means of horny plates in the jaws. In the young specimens examined true teeth were found developing under these horny plates. There are three teeth on each side in the upper jaw, and two in the lower. The anterior tooth of the upper jaw was the one most completely developed. The manner of development seems to be the same as that in the higher mammals.

Professor Milne presented to the Royal Meteorological Society, on December 21, the results of his comparison of the Tokio records of EARTH TREMORS and of the weather records for Japan. He finds remarkable coincidences of these tremors with high winds, and believes that nearly 80 per cent. of the tremors can be accounted for on the hypothesis that they are the effects of winds.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Municipal Council of Paris has founded a new professorship connected with the Sorbonne, especially intended to allow of the advocacy and teaching of Darwinism. The appointment is given to M. Giard, for a long time professor of Zoölogy at Lille, and now at Paris.

The first number of the *Journal of Morphology* has appeared. It is edited by Mr. Whitman, and published by Ginn & Co. at Boston.

The first numbers of the *American Journal of Psychology*, edited by Prof. G. Stanley Hall, and published by N. Murray at Baltimore, have been issued.

A new journal, the *American Geologist*, has been founded.

Two new periodicals dealing with Anthropology have just appeared: *The Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, edited by Doctor Schmeltz of the Museum of Ethnography at Leyden; and *The American Anthropologist*, published by the Anthropological Society of Washington.

Among the distinguished men of science who have recently died, may be mentioned

Dr. Gustav Kirchhoff of Berlin, the discoverer, with Bunsen, of spectrum analysis, and the author of important papers in theoretical physics; Prof. Balfour Stewart of Manchester, well known for his researches in radiance; and Dr. Asa Gray of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the eminent American botanist.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

The work of the EGYPTIAN EXPLORATION FUND is being continued with unabated interest, M. Naville having left England to complete the excavations at Boubastis. Mr. Petrie, conducting private excavations at Biahmu in the Fayoum for the exceptional pyramids which Herodotus describes as crowned with statues, found fragments of two seated colossi which, with their bases and pedestals, would have reached 60 feet in height. Each pedestal was surrounded by an open court with sloping walls nearly as high as the pedestal. From a distance the colossi would appear as if seated on the top of pyramids. Mr. Petrie will now turn his attention to the discovery of the Labyrinth. In recognition of the large subscription to the fund sent from America, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has been presented with an heroic seated statue of Rameses II., a black granite sphinx of the Hyksos period, a XIIth Dynasty statue from Boubastis, and a selection of Greek vases from Naukratis. The casts made by Mr. Petrie, of 150 portraits of foreign races represented on Egyptian monuments have been photographed. The photographs may be had of Mr. Brown-Hogg, Bromley, Kent, England.

IN INDIA a new investigation has been made by Mr. Rea of the prehistoric antiquities of Perianattam, revealing four classes of remains: (1) Stone circles with dolmens in the centre, (2) circles without dolmens, (3) dolmens without circles, and (4) pottery sarcophagi without stone enclosures. The dolmens excavated by Dr. M. W. Taylor at Wynaad show a remarkable resemblance to the British examples, and contained terracotta idols analogous to those found at Troy and Mykenæ.—The PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND furnishes us with a greatly improved map of the Golan district and records the discovery of the walls of Herod's Tiberias, of Jewish and Christian tombs in Galilee, and of a rock-cut tomb to the east of Bethlehem.—At Magnesia in ASIA MINOR have been recovered eleven slabs of the fine frieze of the temple of Artemis, large portions of which are already in the Louvre. The frieze represents the combats of Greeks and Amazons. To the east of Magnesia, near the Niobe, have been found the ruins of a temple and a number of early sculptures, amongst which the most noteworthy are a statue of Aphrodite and one of Kybele. New excavations in CYPRUS have been un-

dertaken by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, for which purpose there has been organized a Cyprus Exploration Fund. Mr. Ernest A. Gardner is to have the general superintendence of the excavations; zoology, and natural science in general, is assigned to Doctor Guilméard, and architecture to R. Elsey Smith. In February Mr. Gardner began digging on the site of an old Phœnician fortress at Leondari, near Nikosia.

IN GREECE the excavations on the Acropolis at Athens continue to reveal important information. The exact site of the circular Ionic temple of Rome and Augustus has been determined at twenty-five metres to the east of the Parthenon in a line with its entrance. Beneath its foundations have been recovered additional fragments of the archaic pedimental composition (the earliest known), of porous stone in low relief, representing the contests of Herakles with the Hydra and with a Triton. Here also has been found a porous stone head of an old man, carefully worked and painted, the oldest known Attic sculpture in the round. A Pelasgic entrance to the citadel has been discovered to the east of the Erechtheion, and in the same quarter a marble head bearing a striking resemblance to the head of the Apollo on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; a male bearded bronze head of archaic style, and inscriptions bearing the names of two famous artists, Archemos of Chios and Onatas of Ægina. Owing to the large number of recent discoveries, it has become necessary to build a second museum on the Acropolis. Outside of the Acropolis, excavations have begun for clearing the theatre of Herod, the Asklepæion, and the theatre of Dionysos. The excavation of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, under Cavadias, and the excavation of the very interesting theatre at Oropos, under Lionardos, have been resumed. The French excavations at Mantinea have resulted in freeing the plan of the theatre, determining the site of the Agora and of a temple of Hera, in the recovery of Doric capitals of different periods, and of some interesting sculptures. Of special importance are three slabs representing a contest of Apollo and Marsyas in the presence of the Muses, thought to be the pedestal of the Praxitelean group of Leto and her children mentioned by Pausanias. A work by Praxiteles himself is recognized by Benndorf and Reinach in the marble head found at Eleusis in 1885, representing Eubouleus, known to have been honored at Eleusis as a god or hero. The German excavations at Thespieæ, now in progress under Dörpfeld, have revealed the walls of the sanctuary of the Cabeiri, some architectural fragments, and a large number of animal votive offerings in terracotta, bronze, and lead of primitive workmanship. At Mykenæ, in the Acropolis, a series of walls, recalling

by their arrangement and decoration the palace at Tiryns, have been found. Tiryns has been revisited by Mr. Penrose, who now withdraws his objections to the antiquity of the palace remains and adopts the view advocated by Schliemann and Dörpfeld. Important for the history of the pre-Mykenæ period have been the discoveries of rude sculptures and gold and bronze objects on the island of Crete. An important inscription found at Ledda, the ancient Lebena, records the wonderful cures effected at the temple of Asklepios. Doctor Schliemann's excavations at Kerigo, the ancient Kythera, resulted only in the recovery of a portion of the wall of what was probably the Phœnician temple of Aphrodite. The American excavations at Sikyon have been renewed, and resulted in the recovery of a figure of the feminine type of Apollo, and of a female head. Four necropoleis found on the slope of the hill-side promise interesting results.

In ITALY the spade continues to unearth treasures from the ancient world. To the east of the Capitoline hill, in Rome, have been found parts of a very early wall; near the Via Genova, the house of Æmilia Paulina Asiatia; in the Via Merulana, a fine statue of Fortuna, nearly perfect in preservation; in the Villa Ludovisi, a fine Augustan relief of a woman playing the double flute; near the Porta Maggiore, an early Christian sarcophagus with the very rare representation of the Betrayal by Judas; and, at the Church of San' Agnese, an important sarcophagus of the fifth century on which is figured the bearded Christ. The excavations on the banks of the Tiber have brought to light numerous inscriptions. Two of these are noted by Lanciani as of special importance to the topography of ancient Rome. One reveals the name of Ripa Veientiana as designating the right bank of the Tiber during the reign of Vespasian; the other mentions the Bridge of Agrippa, which Lanciani identifies with the present Ponte Sisto. In Pompeii the finest fountain mosaic ever found has been discovered. It represents Venus issuing from a sea-shell, holding a cupid by the hand. Beneath are a number of boys with dolphins; on the shore four female figures in amazement. In another house was discovered a whole table service of silver objects, including jugs, drinking cups, egg cups, and fragments of spoons. Three *libelli* or family documents give the names of Decidia Margaritis and of Poppea Note. From the neighborhood of Perugia have been recovered a number of interesting objects, among which special mention may be made of two new examples of the *kottabos*, each of which is provided with its statuette. These throw new light upon the old Greek soldiers' game. From another tomb comes the entire apparatus of an inveterate gambler. This consisted of 16 tesserae in bone, 33 marbles elliptic in shape,

816 glass hemispheres of three colors—yellow, blue, and white—and 50 glass spheres of different colors.—In FRANCE important acquisitions are reported by the Louvre, Paris, especially in the departments of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman, Mediæval and Renaissance sculpture. The Musée des Gobelins has acquired a fine series of ancient Coptic textiles, discovered in the Fayoum in 1884. The churches at Courcône, Bonpère, of S. Léger at Saint Maixent, at Parthenay-le-Vieux, and the early Norman church at Breteuil are being restored. The Château of Dijon is to lose one of its towers. The Gothic church of Hermes, with its fine Romanesque bell tower, is being demolished; the famous Hôtel at Sens, one of the most interesting specimens of mediæval civil architecture in France, is to be sold, and its destruction is possible. When will this vandalism cease? In ENGLAND the British Museum has received from the Egyptian Exploration Fund several fine pieces of sculpture and some thirty Greek-painted vases from Naukratis, and has added numerous specimens to its rich collection of Greek and Etruscan bronzes, terracottas, and vases. The changes which have been recently made in the arrangement, especially of the Greek and Roman antiquities, will render them more useful to students. The South Kensington Museum has added to its collection of tapestries a collection of early Coptic textiles from the Fayoum. At the Grosvenor Gallery an instructive exhibition of a century of British art, 1737–1837, has brought to light the merits of many minor masters of the end of the last century and the beginning of this, who are poorly represented in the national galleries. Mr. Whistler has been endeavoring to increase the repute of lithography by publishing a hundred sets of artistic lithographs, which have highly commended themselves to admirers of his talent. Mr. Watts has begun a new version of his "Love and Death," to depict the violent struggle of mortal love with its conqueror death. A new decorative art, called *cloisonnée-mosaic*, has been invented by Mr. Clement Heaton.

The new year witnesses the establishment of several new archaeological reviews: (1) *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, edited by Count Gnoli; (2) *Revue des Études grecques*, by Théodore Reinach; (3) *Le Moyen Age*, published by Picart; (4) *Revista archeologica e storica*, Lisbon; and (5) *A Monthly Review of Anthropology, Archaeology, History, and Literature*, by G. Lawrence Gomme, London.

NECROLOGY.—During the last four months death has taken Robert Herdman, one of the most accomplished painters of the Royal Scottish Academy; Daniel Ramée, architect, and author of the well-known *Histoire de l'Architecture*; Louis Gallait, a once very popular historical painter; and Philippe Rousseau, a distinguished landscape and genre painter.

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